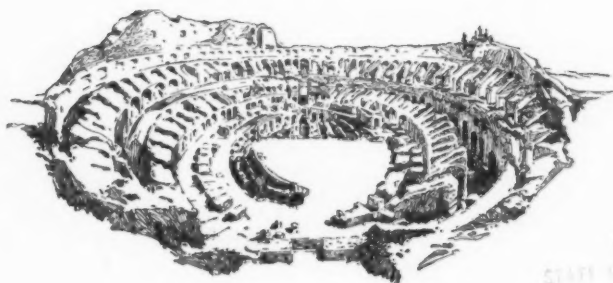


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**THE  
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<b>"Trends and Events"</b>	Dorrance S. White	3
<b>Ancient Greek Romances and Modern Mystery Stories</b>	Elizabeth Hazelton Haight	5
<b>Charon, the Ferryman of the Dead</b>	Francis A. Sullivan, S.J.	11
<b>"We See by the Papers"</b>	Grundy Steiner	18
<b>Words that Die</b>	Frederick M. Combella	21
<b>College for ALL vs. Educational Standards</b>	Alberta Mildred Franklin	27
<b>Notes</b>		
<b>Euphemistic and Related Uses of Past Tenses</b>	Eugene S. McCartney	31
<b>Cicero and the English Gentleman</b>	Harry M. Schwalb	33
<b>Book Reviews</b>		
<b>Ancient Christian Writers (Kleist, Christopher)</b>	W. Arndt	35
<b>Lucretius (Bailey)</b>	Clyde Murley	36
<b>Vocabulary Building (Nurnberg, Rhodes)</b>	William C. Salyer	39
<b>Diodorus of Sicily (Geer)</b>	Chauncey E. Finch	41
<b>Two Books on Plato (Theodorakopoulos)</b>	Constantine Cavarinos	42

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# Trends and Events

Edited by Dorrance S. White

## THE LATIN WORKSHOP

UNDOUBTEDLY ONE OF THE MOST encouraging trends in our field of the Classics is the increasing number of summer Latin Workshops. Here tired teachers learn new techniques in teaching, add new ideas in visual-education, revive vanishing facts of linguistics, semantics and syntax, broaden and perfect their reading ability in classical authors, and get a certain spiritual uplift from the good fellowship that is always present when good classical fellows get together.

We shall not undertake to enumerate all the Workshops that were in session last summer, but those brought to the attention of this editor as having functioned efficiently were carried on under the auspices of the College of William and Mary (a veteran in Workshops), the University of Iowa, and the University of Minnesota. We hope that teachers will write in to tell us of other Workshops that functioned well last summer and what phases of the work netted them especial values. We expect to refer to this later in the school year.

## MESSAGES FROM HONORED COLLEAGUES

DR. LILLIAN B. LAWLER, editor of the *Classical Outlook*, did us the honor of reporting on the Latin Institute, held at Haverford College, June 15-17, 1950. She corroborates the sentiment expressed at the opening of this column with these words:

When a young teacher who has just finished struggling with the problems of her first year of teaching Latin can sit down on the grass under a shady tree and tell some of her troubles to the actual authors of her textbook, in person; when an experienced teacher can stand by the Service Bureau exhibit and tell the Director himself what she considers the strong and weak points of the Bureau's publications; when a teacher who has just been to Rome can have lunch with ten other teachers and inspire them all to follow in her footsteps—then something very important for the teaching of the classics is taking place.

After detailing the events of the program, with subjects and participants, Dr. Lawler added:

But most important, of course, were the talks and papers, with the spirited give-and-take of discussion which they inspired. . . . If one "dominant note" may

be said to have been struck in the meeting, it may well be found in the continuing emphasis upon the need for a whole-hearted belief in the value of the classics, and the need for fresh, vital materials and methods in the teaching of Latin in our schools.

Look for comments by Dr. Lawler on the papers in an early issue of the *Classical Outlook*. The editor of T & E recommends that the best way to do this is to subscribe at once to CO.

Professor A. Pelzer Wagener of the College of William and Mary, after detailing the Workshop program of 1950 and the extent of the enrollment and number of states participating since 1936, has this to say:

The peculiar value of the William and Mary Institute seems to those in charge of the work to reside in the fact that its program has been capable of immediate application to the problems which face Latin teaching today. Rather than having a series of addresses or papers, generally unrelated to each other and presented during the space of a few days, emphasis has been laid upon actual individual study and experimentation under guidance for a sufficiently long period of time to gain results which can be applied to actual classroom procedures. The opportunity to work together as a unified group, to evaluate critically the results produced, and to exchange ideas has proved to be a valuable experience for all, both students and faculty.

## THE STUDY OF FIRST-YEAR LATIN TEXTBOOKS

TEACHERS IN WORKSHOPS seem always to be interested in examining the latest first-year Latin textbooks. With a "measuring-stick" in hand they are able to determine comparative values in the mechanical details, degree of conformity to established courses of study, method of presenting vocabulary, forms, syntax, nature of connected reading material, handling of derivatives and word-studies, presentation of the historical-cultural materials, reviews, Latin-writing, etc.

One of the most fascinating studies is that concerning the sense or nonsense ideas in the Latin-English and English-Latin sentences. No modern first-year Latin book, in this editor's opinion, is really bad, but some good ones would be better if they avoided nonsense-sentences. For example, "the soldier injured the girl in the street with his spear." Lovely illustration of an ablative of place where and of means: lamentable and inexcusable thoughtlessness of a soldier, not to mention reckless use of a spear.

One Latin Workshop teacher, whose name need not be mentioned, made a detailed study of five modern (1949, 1950 editions) first-year books.

Let us choose 4 and call them A, B, C, and D. Her first comment was: "all five texts . . . seem to me to be unusually free from nonsense sentences. For the most part, I would say that the sentences in A are uninteresting rather than silly, but here are a few that puzzled me. First in Book A: 'Many men (humans) live in the little town.' If true, then it isn't a little town. 'The women at Rome prepare arrows.' Without the proper context, this doesn't make much sense. It seems more likely that the authors wanted to make use of the word *arrows*, as they did in the nonsense statement, 'I don't like arrows.' 'Men are in the farmer's camp.' What is a farmer doing with a *camp*? 'Galba begs for a large number of slaves.' Slaves are not usually to be given away."

In Book B: "'The daughters of the men exercise (train) themselves in the broad fields.' This could be true, but it sounds like track stars getting ready for the Olympic Games. 'I have abandoned my arms and have led the queen out of the battle across the fields into the town.' This type of sentence seems like a strained effort to give a lot of practice on prepositional phrases in one sentence. The words 'daughters' and 'queen' seem to offer a lot of difficulties to authors when they try to give repetition of the words, and you get things like 'I like the daughters' without any idea of whose daughters you like. 'Cornelia, hasten to look at

the booty.' A strange thing to say to a girl unless you mean that the booty is in a triumphal parade. Finally, here is a sample of something too stilted for modern young Americans: 'Galba loves the beautiful language of the good daughters' and 'The daughters of the handsome master are good.'"

In Book C, this teacher continues, "'I approve the good reasons.' People just don't talk in this style. This makes Latin seem foreign indeed to a fourteen-year-old child. Generally speaking, the sentences of this book make more sense because they are longer. Incidentally I noted that several offered something for the historical-cultural background and an opportunity for teaching social science through Latin."

In Book D, this teacher found only two that she considered of the nonsense type: "'Since the girls were frightened, the boys killed the lion.' As casually as if it were a mouse the girls were squealing over. 'The leader threw his sword above the enemy.' I suppose it means *swung* without letting go of it. I question the use of *iacio*."

Perhaps these examples drawn by this teacher from four books will suffice to show how important it is to devise made-Latin sentences that will not do violence to the pupil's sense of dignity and maturity.

---

Ed. Note: "A policy," Kipling wrote, "is blackmail levied on the fool by the unforeseen." Previous editors have realized that the JOURNAL was apt to be thought too little erudite by scholars, too much so by school-teachers; to fall between two stools, not quite satisfying either group. Much has been done, as in the scholarly but non-technical papers provided by the APA committee, to relieve this situation; but the problem will persist. An editor would like to obey Horace: *Denique sit quod vis, simplex dumtaxat et unum*.

Some mutual forbearance is called for. Professors will have to remember that their destinies are tied up with the high school situation, and be tolerant of discussions of methods and curricular matters which, under ideal educational conditions, we might be glad to forego. Pupils are expected in many school systems to learn without studying. Some three-fourths of the subscribers are secondary school teachers. The latter, some of whom themselves have considerable attainments, will not expect scholars to be satisfied with only an exchange of class-room devices; and will welcome intellectual stimulus. You are invited to write in what you do or do not like about the JOURNAL, and what you would like. The editor cannot guarantee to answer such letters (or not to); but please indicate whether you are willing to

be quoted, fully or in excerpts, for there may be a column for that.

It is not to be assumed by readers or my predecessor (should he subscribe) that any changes, any deviations from the Norm, reflect on previous practice; they may be owing to financial or other exigency. What with inexperience, loss of the invaluable aid of the assistant editor (though he and his superior were most generous), the absence of others of the staff in summer and my absence from my own desk—if this first issue is mechanically passable, it will be by the grace of God and the Banta Publishing Company. As for the content, the transfer of a so-called back-log (but immune to combustion) of sixty-old accepted MSS, not to mention book-reviews, will for some time protect readers from my judgment. The reviews are being printed in order of dates of publication of the books; the need of balancing issues, and the needs of secondary school teachers, will not allow so simple an order always for articles. Any editorial page has been, for the present, omitted in the interest of such contributors.

The advance in subscription rate was reluctantly, and of necessity, decided upon. The JOURNAL now costs as much as the annual banquet of a Classical association, but lasts even longer.

# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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## Ancient Greek Romances and Modern Mystery Stories

Elizabeth Hazelton Haight

*This paper, by the Vassar professor who has written several books on the Romances, is supplied by the Committee for the Diffusion of Philological knowledge, American Philological Association.*

THE BEST ESCAPE-LITERATURE which I know consists in Greek Romances and in mystery stories. The two are startlingly alike. The genres must be defined. The ancient Greek Romances are long stories written in Greek prose from the end of the first to the beginning of the fourth century after Christ. Their chief themes are love, adventure, and religion. They are named for two lovers. A modern mystery novel must be distinguished from a detective story. In the latter, a crime, usually a murder is solved by some master detective: Lord Peter Wimsey, who puts instinct above reason, Hercule Poirot with his little grey cells working, the half-caste, Napoleon Bonaparte with his intimate knowledge of the Australian bush and its natives, Miss Silver with her knitting and her experience of small-town psychology. In contrast, a mystery story demands a mysterious situation, not necessarily murder, a disappearance, an apparent death, an oracle, a dream, a color problem. The solution may be

found by one person (a Sir Richard Hannay), or by two people (a young English couple) or by a group of friends (Agatha Christie's *The Seven Dials*). In these also interest centers in love, adventure and religion, with subtle subdivisions of these themes.

Much more has been written about the detective story than about the mystery: consult Edmond Haycraft's *Murder for Pleasure*, *The Life and Times of the Detective Story*, and Dorothy Sayers' brilliant essay on "Aristotle and the Detective Story" in her *Unpopular Opinions*. John Buchan, like Dorothy Sayers a master-hand at creating the literature he describes, wrote a suggestive essay on "The Novel and the Fairy Tale." In this he names the few good plots or motives for stories as the picaresque motive, the story based on extension in space; Peripeteia or Reversal of Fortune, often coupled with Recognition; the survival of the unfittest; and the use of ordinary human beings as characters, accompanied by a great optimism about human na-

ture. All these motives appear in both Greek Romances and modern mysteries, and I may add to them two which Anthony Boucher suggested in his summary of the best mystery stories of 1949, the political or sociological theme, and pure phantasmagoria. All these themes must be illuminated by examples. I shall refer to four Greek writers: Chariton, the earliest, Xenophon of Ephesus, Heliodorus, and Longus, the unique writer of pastoral romance. My illustrations of mysteries will be novels by Helen MacInnis, John Buchan, and Ann Bridge.

The love motif dominates Chariton's story, *Chaereas and Callirhoe*. These two young people, beautiful and radiant, fell in love at first sight, married, and would have lived happily had not Chaereas in a fit of jealous rage inflicted a blow on Callirhoe which caused her sudden death. This death was only apparent: she awoke in the tomb, was kidnapped by grave robbers, sold as a slave to a noble, Dionysius, who fell in love with her, found she was with child and married Dionysius to give Chaereas' baby a father. Through many adventures both Chaereas and Callirhoe were whirled from country to country, always thinking of each other, until finally they met at last—he a warrior, she a prisoner of war—recognized each other and, all enemies vanquished, sailed home to Syracuse for a happy life together. In spite of funeral, kidnapping, wars, travels, trial scene, the dominating influence in the story is Aphrodite's power and the central theme is romantic love.

So it is also in Helen MacInnis's lovely story, *Above Suspicion*, wherein a young English couple, Richard and Frances Myles of Oxford, found their summer holiday turned into a quest for the unravelling of a mysterious disappearance and beset with every sort of danger. In the late pre-war days, the chief of the underground railway for getting anti-Nazis out of Germany had disappeared and it was decided to use amateurs who would be above suspicion in a search for him. Richard and Frances, accepting this dangerous commission, were passed on by secret clues from

agent to agent and encountered every adventure in their quest. Their youth, their devotion, and their courage lessened the hinted horrors until Frances too was caught, imprisoned, and tortured before the inevitable rescue.

In both the Greek romance and the English there are exciting episodes most of which parallel each other: in Chariton, apparent death, kidnapping, slavery, marriage, travel, war; in MacInnis, kidnapping, travel, espionage, torture, war imminent. A minor difference is that Chaereas's kick of his bride is paralleled only by Richard Myles' slap of Frances' face to stop her hysterics once when danger overcame her. Manners had changed. In both stories, the love of two young people is the dominating motif and youth and romance outride horror and danger. Some of the episodes would be too painful for the reader to endure were he not sure that from the very nature of the genre the ending of the story will be happy. Chaereas and Callirhoe sail back to Syracuse; Richard and Frances are to see again the spires of Oxford.

Disappearance and recognition are still more important in the romance of Xenophon of Ephesus, *Habrocomes and Anthia*, and in John Buchan's *The Three Hostages*. Let us turn backward old Time in his flight and begin with Buchan. Here not one person disappears, but three; for after World War I, evil like a snake is uncoiling in dark menace to humanity and a master criminal, to guarantee the success of his schemes, has taken three hostages: the daughter of an American millionaire, the young son of a great British politician, and a small boy of ten, the only comfort of a great British soldier and administrator. From the peace of his country home, Sir Richard Hannay is called upon by the government not only to solve these disappearances but to track down the leader of the subversive activities threatening the Empire.

The only clue is a piece of doggerel sent to the families of all three victims, which parallels the oracles in the Greek Romances:

Seek where under midnight's sun  
Laggard crops are hardly won;—



Where the sower casts his seed in  
Furrows of the fields of Eden;—  
Where beside the sacred tree  
Spins the seer who cannot see.

In this story of solving disappearances, the love motif is the married love of Sir Richard and his wife Mary, who directs, sustains, and aids him. The notable *Peripeteia* or Reversal of Fortune is balanced by the brilliancy of three scenes of recognition. Descriptions of quiet English countryside and wild fiords of Norway diversify the sets. And the character-painting depicts the Englishman's code of honor and the lurid aspirations of a criminal mind. Step by step with perfect surety the elaborate plot unfolds and the oracular rhymes are interpreted.

In *Habrocomes and Anthia* by Xenophon of Ephesus, the happy young pair on their wedding journey are taken from their ship by pirates, made slaves, separated and dismissed into the unknown. The plot is concerned with their hair-raising adventures until their ultimate reunion at the Temple of Isis in Rhodes. An oracle functions in this story also, the oracle of Apollo, who ordered the marriage of hero and heroine, predicted their voyaging, their separation, their disasters, their reunion. The oracle's meaning is never fully explained as the verses in Buchan are. It is almost the conventional Greek prelude to travel and adventure and serves less to motivate the plot than to dramatize the sufferings of the lovers and reassure the reader about a happy ending. The use of the oracle in Heliodorus is a better parallel to Buchan's rhymes, for it in itself is mysterious and is solved clause by clause up to the grand finale of explanation.

Delphians, regard with reverential care,  
Both him the goddess-born and her the fair,  
"Grace" is the sound which ushers in her name,  
The syllable wherewith it ends is "Fame."  
They both my fane shall leave, and oceans past,  
In regions torrid shall arrive at last;  
There shall the gods reward their pious vows,  
And snowy chaplets bind their dusky brows.

Xenophon of Ephesus and John Buchan are alike in making their plots center in a re-

versal of fortune and disappearance, in the use of an oracle, in the ultimate triumph of the powers of good. Both show a clear morality in the ethical contrasts between Greeks, or British, and the oriental barbarians. Both depict the same code of honor of fidelity in love, and of decency in combat. Both help the reader to escape from the discouragements of contemporary society to faith in a world where love lasts until death, heroes ride again to victory, and *deo adiuvante* the right conquers.

The motives of love, adventure, and religion shift again in relative proportion in Heliodorus' novel *Aethiopica*. Here the dominating interest is religion. The best modern parallel I find in John Buchan's *The Dancing Floor*. This time let us begin our comparison with the ancient romance. Again in the *Aethiopica* two young lovers, Theagenes and Chariclea, go through all manner of perilous adventures, but come out united and triumphant because of their faith in the gods. The coloring of the whole background is religious—philosophical. Dreams, epiphanies, miracles, and necromancy play their part. The most prominent cults are those of Apollo-Helios and of Isis. One of the most important characters is Colasiris, a priest of Isis, who practices the large eclecticism of the Neo-Pythagoreans. Another great character is the leader of a philosophical cult of Gymnosophists named Sisimithres, who brings the oracle to happy fulfillment. The story begins with a festival at Delphi where the two young people fall in love at first sight. It ends in Ethiopia with their consecration as priest and priestess of the Sun and the Moon. In this conclusion, the most startling of all the reversals of fortune in the Greek Romances occurs as Theagenes and Chariclea are saved from human sacrifice and crowned as servants of the gods.

In John Buchan's romance, *The Dancing Floor*, the mystery culminates in religion. The plot develops around the meaning of a dream and shifts from Oxford and London to one of the isles of Greece. The story is told in the first person by Sir Edward Leithen, a London



lawyer, about a young friend of his, Vernon Milburne, who confides to him a disturbing recurrent dream. Since childhood in his sleep at regular intervals he had found himself alone in a great room with a closed door facing him which he had to open; it lead only into another great vacant chamber like the first, but he came to sense that at the end behind one door a terror was awaiting him which would be the test of his life. Always the dream came back in April at Easter and at fifteen he realized that in twelve years he would reach the ultimate door and meet the great adventure: for this all his life was a preparation.

In the spring of 1914 when Vernon and Leithen were cruising in a yacht on the Aegean, the two friends went ashore at a Greek island and, walking, heard the Spring Song of Demeter on the hills. Enchantment surrounded them. Vernon was sure he had been there before. He told Leithen the story of that ancient Greek festival which antedated Easter, the coming of the Maid. The story and their walk impressed the island on their memories. Here they were to return.

For after the war's four hard years, Leithen looked up the history of this island of Plakos and of the family of Arabins who owned the great house on it. Of them only one was left now, a young girl; but her father and grandfather had been such rotten persons, had indulged in such orgies, corrupting the island youths, that all the Arabins were hated by the islanders and rumor grew that they intended to eliminate the family and the house.

Koré Arabin (she bore the Greek name of the Maiden) had come to London to consult her lawyer, but had refused to accept his advice to sell her home and leave the island. Leithen, interested through the barrister, tried to influence her decision, and falling half in love with her, determined to save her; then one morning found that she had departed for her home. The second part of the novel recounts Leithen's futile efforts with a band of ten men to get to the house on the island and remove the girl. But the hostile

peasants so terrified his mercenaries that all but two deserted him, and at the entrances to the castle he found armed guards and fagots piled high for burning. He could not reach Koré. The priest of the island, who helped and fed Leithen, told him how desperate the situation was and that the people had gone back to "the old gods"; if worst came to worst, he must take refuge in the church for sanctuary. In reconnoitering, Leithen spied a yacht in the harbor, swam out to it and found only a mariner on it who declared his orders were to await "his master," but he would not disclose who or where he was. However, he promised to take a menaced lady on board if she could be rescued.

Part three shifts to Vernon Milburne in the House, for Vernon, arriving on the yacht to see his island again, had been conveyed to the House by Koré's two desperate servants and was now there, a prisoner with the girl, unable to escape. In that plight, he heard from Koré's own lips why she felt she must return and try to expiate to her people the terrible outrages of her family. He saw too that now in the face of failure her courage was mingled with terror. He learned from the man servant, Mitri, how the islanders were planning to sacrifice Koré at the Spring Festival and burn the House. He had already known the rites of the Dancing Floor, the amphitheater in the woods, from an old Greek manuscript in the Arabin papers which he had deciphered for Leithen. Now he learned from Mitri that they were to be reenacted. The ritual was fixed: there would be a race of young men; the victor would be named King; he would choose a male victim and with him enter the House; then on Easter-Eve he would come forth with him and Koré and sacrifice the two to the old gods.

Vernon made a daring plan and carried it out. Disguised as a peasant from the hills, he slipped out of the House, entered the race, won, and selected as his victim a man who proved to be Leithen's assistant, Maris, now a prisoner, who revealed to him that Leithen was on the island. With Maris' aid, the amazing denouement was planned and executed;

for in the Easter moonlight they gave to the superstitious islanders their gods, the Kourous and the Koré of the old myth. Leithen, mingling with the crowd, saw the great event: while the House burned behind them, the beautiful young pair, Vernon and Koré, came forth in regal splendor, triumphant, and the people around the Dancing Floor fled in mad fear of the gods they had evoked. Leithen, watching, knew that the two had found their own epiphany in love. Indeed on this Easter Vernon had opened the last door of his dream to another world: battling the forces of evil, he had found new life and love. The startling resemblance to the end of Heliodorus' romance is manifest: Theagenes and Chariclea were saved from human sacrifice and crowned priest and priestess of the Sun and the Moon; Vernon and Koré found salvation and became to the islanders and to each other, the Kourous and the Koré forever.

Another type of mystery tale, ancient and modern, may be named phantasmagoria because in it imagination presents an unreal world as real. To illustrate, I offer Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* and Ann Bridge's *And Then You Came*. *Daphnis and Chloe* is a pastoral romance in which the idyllic world of shepherds is made real. Never were real goatherd and shepherdess so entrancing as this young pair. Of course, in the recognitions at the end they are proved to be young nobles, exposed at birth; but their hearts remain true to their foster-parents and after their marriage they choose to go back to the simple, country life. Young love in all its charm and freshness motivates the tale. *Daphnis and Chloe* devoutly worship Pan and the Nymphs. But beyond all else the fantasy of an unreal world of shepherds and shepherdesses colors the lovely story. The world of Theocritus is restored in romance. Longus in his preface says he wrote the whole book as an offering to Eros, Pan, and the Nymphs. It is set to music: the sound of the shepherds' pipes and the voice of song.

Ann Bridge in *And Then You Came* introduces us to another sort of unreal world. On a coast town in the West Highlands out

of the void arrives a ship bearing four gorgeous young people, three dark-haired, handsome men and a girl of white skin and golden hair whose eerie beauty startles all who behold her. They tell little about themselves, but take part in the life of the community and show a special interest in the archaeological investigations of Nora Congreve and her learned advisor, Professor Porlock. They are excavating vitrified forts of the Iron Age, built by Celtic invaders from Europe. One of the four forts already discovered was called "Deirdre's Fort"; and old Mr. MacAlpine maintains that the invaders came from Ireland, not France, and tells the story of how Deirdre, the Queen of Sorrows, escaped marriage with the King of Ulster because she had fallen in love with Naoise, one of his sons, and fled with him and his two brothers to Scotland; there they lived until the King pursued them and killed all his sons and Deirdre killed herself.

Little by little this old myth is interlaced with the new arrivals: one of the Scots says there is "something prehistoric about the lot of them," and old Mr. MacAlpine mutters: "It were better that they should all go away." He sees the spell that Reine Caruthers' beauty is casting on all men near, old and young. There are mysteries: when a ring-headed pin is found in one of the forts, Reine at once shows the excavators how it was used to pin a scarf; as they walk to a newly discovered fort, Reine knows where the golden eagles nest, and where the hollies grow, and where once an orchard bore fruit; until Nora and the young Scotsmen with her are certain that she has been there before. She admits it, but the question is when? It was Professor Porlock who, proving not only an archaeologist but a mystic, came to know the truth; for, alone in a fog on the hills, he found himself suddenly transported from the twentieth century A.D. to the first, becoming a ghost of the future in the midst of the inhabitants of the forts. And there in strange confusion were Reine and her brothers, Nora and all her family, clad in the costumes of the Iron Age and living the lives of the Celts

of that time. But out of this vision of happiness came tragedy, for the past and the present; in strange conflict brought a struggle between Jock, Reine's lover of today, and Nash, her betrothed of centuries ago; and Jock is found dead on a cliff, stabbed to the heart with a dagger of the olden time. Woe is what Reine brought to Nora's house, and as it deepens, "the wee yacht's away" and the beautiful girl and the three handsome brothers disappear in shipwreck so only memory remains. Professor Porlock finally admits that perhaps all the digging disturbed the past and brought it to the surface again, though "no one ever knows the 'how' of these things."

So brief an outline cannot convey the phantasmagoria of the recreation of a pre-historic age and its infiltration of the present; but step by step the unreal past becomes the real present and the life of the Iron Age and the life of the Twentieth Century are merged. The life of the vitrified forts is as real a fantasy as the life of Daphnis and Chloe on the hills of Greece. The great difference is that the goatherd and the shepherdess move in happiness and Deirdre must always be the Queen of Sorrows although her song was "Love is Lord of All."

Minor resemblances between old and new mysteries may be noted. History, politics and social problems appear incidentally in ancient and modern mysteries, but are not controlling motives. In Chariton, historical events are mentioned to give a background of reality: the contests between the Syracusans and the Athenians; the war between the Greeks and the Persians; the rebellion of Egypt against Persia. In Heliodorus, geography and ethnography are important; but imagination and fantasy falsify the historical and geographical allusions especially in his pictures of an Ethiopian empire. In Achilles Tatius, as in the other Greek novelists, the center of the adventures of his young lovers is the eastern basin of the Mediterranean. The scenes shift from Sidon to Berytus, to Pelusium and Alexandria, to Ephesus, to Byzantium.

In all the conflicts involved in these geographical settings, the contrast between the Greeks and the Barbarians appears in their codes of honor, their standards of humanity, in some cases in their religious rites; and the moral superiority of the west over the east is assumed. So in modern mystery novels, as Boucher comments, during World War I and after it the authors used the same contrast between West and East in their portrayal of Germans and Japanese; but now after World War II, the mysteries deal with Communist villainies. And in some of the latest, sociological problems make the spring-board for action, especially in the color problem and the use of the Negro as hero. It is amusing to reflect that in Heliodorus the color problem appeared in the question of how a black king and queen could have a *white* daughter; and the crisis was serious until the suspicious father was reassured by being told that his wife, when she conceived, had her eyes fixed on a beautiful painting of Andromeda, whom the girl resembles! Moreover, a black birthday ring about one arm confirms her legitimate paternity.

I hope by now I have made my point about the striking resemblances between the Greek Romances and the modern mystery stories in their aims, their themes, their major interest, their patterns. I might go on to discuss minor devices common to both in their art of story-telling: the use of a narrator, of conversations, of descriptions, of résumés. But these, I think, each reader will like to notice for himself; and my purpose has been to win readers for this fascinating escape-literature, old and new. It was interesting to me to observe that my best selections of modern mysteries for comparison were written by Scotch authors, for to me the Scotch often seem half Greek. And I find too in a Scotch critic a sympathetic point of view of such literature.

Gilbert Highet in *The Classical Tradition*, writing on *Daphnis and Chloe* and the

CONCLUDED ON PAGE 45

# Charon, the Ferryman of the Dead

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## I

NO ONE CAN READ THE SIXTH BOOK of the *Aeneid* and easily forget the grim boatman Charon. For Virgil's portrait of him is vivid and memorable. There he stands in his boat, a mass of hoary beard upon his chin, his eyes staring orbs of flame, his rough garment hanging by a knot off one shoulder. He pushes his boat from the shore with a pole, then tends the sails. He is a surly old fellow, well on in years, but *cruda deo viridisque senectus*. Dante remembered him and thus describes him in the *Inferno*:<sup>1</sup>

Un vecchio, bianco, per antico pelo,  
Gridando: guai a voi, anime prave. . .  
Caron dimonio, con occhi di bragia.

Shakespeare too recalled him in his *Troilus and Cressida*, as he put these words in the mouth of Troilus:<sup>2</sup>

No Pandarus, I stalk about her door  
Like a strange soul upon the Stygian banks,  
Staying for waftage. O, be thou my Charon  
And give me swift transportage to those fields  
Where I may wallow in the lily-beds  
Proposed for the deserver.

And Ben Jonson, in his *Catiline*, has Cethegus sum up the bloody days of Sulla in these words:<sup>3</sup>

The rugged Charon fainted,  
And asked a navy, rather than a boat,  
To ferry over the sad world that came.

But, though Virgil did much to fix the literary type of Charon for the future, he was not his creator. No, Charon is far older than Virgil. We meet him already in the Greek art and literature of the sixth and fifth cen-

turies B.C., and on Etruscan monuments of the fourth and following centuries. But he is probably still older than those times. For he seems to belong to those far-off days when men began to think of the dead as living on, no longer merely in the grave, but in the depths of the earth. As time passed, the topography of the infernal regions was elaborated as fertile imaginations played about the theme. To reach those distant regions underground, one had to cross an unbridged river, the Styx or Acheron, guided along the hazardous way by Hermes, Guide of Souls, and ferried across the stream by a boatman, Charon. Homer and Hesiod make no mention of Charon, but he may well have appeared in popular folklore long before their time. At any rate, the first clear mention of Charon appears, according to Pausanias, in an epic poem called the *Minyad*. At Delphi there was a building called the *Lesche* with paintings by Polygnotus. One of these paintings is thus described by Pausanias: "There is water to indicate a river, no doubt the Acheron. . . . On the river there is a boat and the ferryman at the oars. Polygnotus, I think, follows the poem called the *Minyad*, for in this poem there is a passage about Theseus and Piritheus: 'Then the bark of the dead which the old ferryman, Charon, was wont to guide, they found not at its moorings'."<sup>4</sup> It may have been this very painting of Polygnotus which furnished the general model for the literary and artistic portrait of Charon in the subsequent centuries. At all events, Charon is a favorite figure in the literature of the fifth century.

In the *Seven against Thebes*, Aeschylus alludes to the "dark and sable-sailed mission-ship which passes over Acheron unto the shore where Apollo sets not foot nor sunlight falls."<sup>5</sup> Euripides refers to Charon and his boat rather often, once in the *Hercules Furens* and several times in the *Alkestis*.<sup>6</sup> For instance, Alkestis, soon to die, cries out: "I see the two-oared skiff. Charon, the ferryman of the dead, with his hand upon the pole, is already calling me, saying: 'Why do you delay? Hurry! You are holding me back.'" Aristophanes in turn seems to parody these lines in the *Lysistrata*. When the magistrate, well on in years, speaks of taking a wife, the others scoff at him and Lysistrata asks: "What do you need? What do you wish? Go into the boat. Charon is calling you, but you keep him from putting out." But, naturally, we hear most of Charon in the *Frogs*. Heracles tells Dionysus that an old mariner will row him over the Acherusian lake in a tiny boat for two obols. Later on, arrived at the lake, Dionysus and his slave hear a boatman's call, and the following conversation ensues:

Xanthias. What's that?

Dionysius. Why, that's the lake and there I see a boat.

Xanthias. Poseidon yes, and yonder is Charon.

Likely as not, Aristophanes is here poking fun at actual popular beliefs about the Underworld.<sup>7</sup>

Passing over other poets like Timotheus, Antiphanes, and Theocritus, who mention Charon, we come to Lucian, the Voltaire of later paganism. Lucian "has a vivid and awful conception of Death, the great leveller, and sees all earthly wealth and glory in the grey light of the land where all things are left behind."<sup>8</sup> In his dialogue *Charon*, the old ferryman of the dead, visits the upper-world in company with Hermes, only to find it all vanity. At the end, he exclaims: "How silly are the ways of hapless men, with their kings, gold, and battles—but not a thought of Charon!" Charon figures prominently in the *Dialogues of the Dead*, the *Kataplous*, and the *Menippus*.<sup>9</sup> In many of these satires, Lucian is patently ridiculing popular superstitions about the Underworld. Finally, many an

epigram of the *Greek Anthology* speaks of Charon. While some of these sepulchral epigrams merely allude to the old boatman or his craft in banal fashion, others are warm with human pity for the lad or maid "who was so fair and is dead." In one, Charon is prayed to reach out a helping hand to the son of Cinyras as he embarks, for the little lad walks unsteadily in his first pair of sandals. In another, it is said that even the ferryman perchance weeps for the young bride, dead ere her prime. "Charon ever insatiable," cries another, "why did you take away young Attalus? Was he not yours, even had he died old?"<sup>10</sup>

To sum up the picture of Charon as revealed in Greek literature: he is the busy, impatient ferryman, anxious to get the shades aboard and be off to the other side. So Euripides and Aristophanes paint him. Racine was struck with this picture and reproduced it in the Preface to his *Iphigénie*:

Je vois déjà la rame et la barque fatale,  
J'entende le vieux nocher sur la rive infernale;  
Impatient il crie: on t'attend ici-bas;  
Tout est prêt, descends, viens, ne me retarde pas.

Secondly, he is old (*geron, geraios*), *iam senior* as Virgil says. So, in one of Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead*, Diogenes says to an old man: You behave like a child in the presence of death, and yet you are as old as the boatman."<sup>11</sup>

But Charon was not confined to literature. He was glorified also in Greek art, especially on the white Athenian lekythoi, those modest vases which so often breathe "calmness without strain, poise without affectation." Some of these vases were made for purely ornamental purposes, others to hold perfume and be set beside the corpse before it was carried out to burial. These lekythoi may be divided into two classes, according as the scene is drawn in glaze outline, or in a dull, matt color. The former belong to the mid fifth century or earlier, the latter to the second half of the same century. The scene is variously represented. Often Charon is shown in his boat, with the dead person on the shore; at other times, Hermes is there, leading the dead to Charon; or a mourner is



present as in the grave scenes, or an attendant on the dead. In his *Athenian White Lekythoi*, Fairbanks gives excellent reproductions of six of these Charon-scenes.<sup>12</sup> Charon is pictured on these vases with cap and workman's blouse (*exomis*), which hangs from one shoulder. He stands in his boat near the shore, one or both hands on a long pole (Fig. 1). He is bearded, occasionally rough and unkempt, though rarely repulsive, but often too he is dignified in face and human in his attitude. For instance, on a vase in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Fig. 2), a child with his go-cart is shown between Charon and his mother, for whom Charon has come. The boatman seems to pause and look with pitying eyes on mother and child, as though loath to separate them. Even in the Underworld *mentem mortalia tangunt*.<sup>13</sup> Again, while in literature Charon is old, on the lekythoi he is generally a man in his full powers, mature rather than old. And, as remarked above, while the poets freely paint the grimmer traits of Charon, many of the vase-painters soften and ennoble his features, as though the Underworld too should show a spirit of *sophrosyne* and calm. 'Tis hard, they seem to say, but *levius fit patientia*. It is the same feeling of restraint that we notice on the grave-scenes of the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C., and in the sepulchral epigrams of Simonides. Sorrow there is, but it is a serene sorrow, mingled with a grave tenderness, simplicity, and reserve.

We turn now to the Charon of Latin literature, a twin-brother of the Greek boatman. For Latin literature early took pleasure in reproducing the Greek fables about the Underworld. Already in the *Captivi* of Plautus a character can say: "I have often seen many pictures of the torments of Acheron."<sup>14</sup> Lucretius, of course, has only scorn for these tales. He would have men "banish that fear of Acheron which confounds man's life so utterly." The tales about Acheron are true only of this life:

Hic Acherusia fit stultorum denique vita.

So, he implies, there is no Acheron, nor should we believe that "the gods of the dead lead



FIG. 1. CHARON, HERMES, AND YOUTH. FIG. 2: (FULL PAGE) CHARON, CHILD, AND MOTHER. THAT IS, THE VASES THEMSELVES SHOW ALL THESE FIGURES.

(Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum, New York.)

souls from Avernus to the shores of Acheron."<sup>15</sup> Virgil's Charon is essentially Greek, with a touch of Etruscan grimness about him. Horace alludes only once to Charon's *cumba*,<sup>16</sup> Tibullus contrasts the bright world of men with dark Hades and its *audax Cerberus et Stygiae navita turpis aquae*,<sup>17</sup> Propertius, for whom the thought of death held such fascination, often refers to the old *nauta* and his craft, and once to Charon's coin in the words: *ubi portitor aera recepit*.<sup>18</sup> So too Ovid, Petronius, Seneca, Juvenal, and others use Charon and his boat to ornament their poetry.<sup>19</sup> Juvenal's picture is rather vivid. He shows a poor man run down in the street. And while his family await him at home for the evening meal, the master

Iam sedet in ripa taetrumque novicius horret  
Porthmea, nec sperat cenosi gurgitis alnum  
Infelix, nec habet quem porrigat ore trientem.

Juvenal speaks scoffingly of such stories, as does Cicero in the *Tusculans*, but he and others are glad to use Charon to point a moral and adorn a tale.





The Latin verse epitaphs, set over the graves both of Romans and (more commonly) of slaves and freedmen from the East, often speak of Charon. Some of these epitaphs openly express their disbelief in the stories about Hades. On one, with names reminiscent of the *Cena Trimalchionis*, we read the following words in Greek: "There is no boat of Hades, no ferryman Charon, no dog Cerberus. One and all we become bones and ashes." Another epitaph, dating from Flavian times and belonging to a certain Nepos, reads in part as follows:

Non ego Tartareas penetrao tristis ad undas,  
Nec Acheronteis transvehar umbra vadis;  
Non ego caeruleam remo pulsabo carinam,  
Nec te terribilem fronte timebo Charon.<sup>20</sup>

Yet Charon and his murky craft still appear in the epitaphs. How far these testify to a living belief in the tales of the Underworld, it is hard to say. Many of the phrases have a conventional ring about them. But, since most of the epitaphs belong to Easterners to whom such ideas came more natural than they did to native Romans, and since (as we shall see) belief in Charon persisted for centuries, such allusions may well be more than picturesque ornaments. Add to this the fact, noted by F. Cumont in his *Afterlife in Roman Paganism*, that "the practice was perpetuated of placing in the mouth of the corpse a piece of money which served, it was said, to pay Charon for the crossing of the Styx."<sup>21</sup> At all events, Charon's name was a familiar one in Latin literature.

## II

BUT, CENTURIES BEFORE VIRGIL and Horace, the Etruscans had come to know Charon. Did he come to them originally from Egypt, or from Assyria, or was he an old Pelasgian god of death? No one knows for sure. But Charon, now called Charun or Charu, seems early to have become firmly established in Etruscan folklore, to be gradually enriched with Greek traits. Etruscan scholars like MacIver, Poulsen, and Weege have remarked on the difference between the bright

Etruscan frescoes of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., with their laughter-loving revels, and the later frescoes of the fourth and following centuries, with their gloomy scenes of escort to the Underworld by terrible demons. On these later frescoes, as well as on urns and sarcophagi, there is pictured an Underworld of grim monsters that anticipates Orcagna's work in the Campo Santo at Pisa. And here it is that we meet the Etruscan Charun, but *quantum mutatus ab illo!* In the mid nineteenth century, the Englishman George Dennis roamed about the Tuscan ruins and, in his delightful *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, gave a vivid description of the tombs and Charon-scenes. Later excavations and studies, most recently the work of F. De Ruyt, *Charun, démon étrusque de la mort*, have supplemented and clarified the observations of Dennis.<sup>22</sup>

Charun is always a fearsome, and often a gruesome figure, with flaming eyes and savage aspect. Most frequently he has a hooked nose, bestial ears, pointed teeth, snaky hair, and dark blue features. Sometimes he has wings. In short, as Dennis quaintly remarks, "he answers well (cloven feet excepted) to the modern concept of the devil." His costume varies considerably, but most often he wears a short tunic. One may normally pick him out by his attribute, a great hammer or mallet.<sup>23</sup> For example, in a painting from the François Tomb at Vulci, representing the sacrifice of Trojan captives on the grave of Patroclus, Charun appears between Greeks and Trojans with uplifted mallet. His name above (XARV) testifies to his identity. A similar scene is shown on a krater from Vulci: Ajax sacrifices a Trojan while Charun advances behind him, a long mallet held in both hands. Again, on a fresco from the Tomba del Tifone at Corneto, the scene shows the journey of a young man to the realms of the dead. Behind the central figure stands a tall, imposing Charun, one hand resting on the youth's shoulder. He is bearded and carries his long mallet.

Charun is not the lord of the Underworld, for Pluto still rules there as the frescoes show.

Nor is he the tormentor of the damned like the demon Tuchulcha. No, he is a death-demon whose functions vary on different monuments. Now he is the messenger of destiny, now the conductor of souls to the Underworld, now the keeper of the gates of Hades or sentinel of the tomb, now (though rarely) a fury like one of the Greek Erinys. At times he stands aloof to one side of the monument, an expressive symbol of the death awaiting the persons represented in the main scene. Very rarely is he assimilated to the Greek ferryman, with oar in hand.<sup>24</sup> Though the Etruscan artists appropriated the name of the Greek boatman for their own native death-demon, very few of them stressed the likeness further by giving Charun the oar. More than a hundred monuments show him with the great mallet in his hand. This inexorable fetcher of souls interferes in men's lives whenever death is imminent, but especially in scenes of violent death drawn mostly from Greek mythology.

Why this sudden vogue, in the fourth century B.C., of a mythical figure whose essential traits had no doubt been fixed long before in popular tradition? It was due, thinks De Ruyt, to a renaissance of Etruscan art at this period in the direction of extreme realism, and to the evolution of religious ideas concerning the Afterlife, under the influence of the mystery religions which spread at this time from Magna Graecia into Etruria. The terrible figure of Charun, originally a creation of folk-lore, now became a striking artistic symbol of the agony of human beings when confronted by the awful mystery of death.<sup>25</sup> In sum, then, Charun was a native Etruscan hammer-demon, the hammer symbolizing the blows of death and the bestial features, recalling a bird or beast of prey, symbolizing the rapacity of death. His resemblance to the Greek Charon is slight and superficial. Except for the name and the rare attribution to him of the oar, the influence of Greece was strongest in the choice of mythological scenes in which Charun takes part.

### III

CENTURIES PASS AWAY. The old pagan gods have died and been forgotten. But Charon still lives on, with an old age unwithered and hale, among the modern Greeks.<sup>26</sup> His name is now Charos or Charontas, a name often heard on the lips of Greek peasants today. But he is no longer for them the classical ferryman of the ancient Greeks. He is a god of death and the lower world, while Hades is now the realm over which Charos rules, and whither he snatches away the souls of men at death. Naturally, as in all folk-lore, he is variously imagined and pictured, now as an old man, white of hair and harsh of features, now (and more often) as a strong warrior with raven-black or flashing golden hair, who rides forth on a black horse along the highways of life to spoil and ravage the lives of men. "His glance is as lightning," says one song, "his face like fire, his shoulders like twin-mountains, and his head like a tower."<sup>27</sup>

What does he do, this god of death? He visits the world of men to carry away those whose life-thread is spun. And in what mood and spirit does he perform his task? It varies according as men conceive him as a minister and messenger of God, or as a free agent, responsible to no one else. The Christian view of Charos has naturally softened the features of the character ascribed to him, and many a folk tale tells how unwilling he is to carry off his victims. But no respite can he give, for he is straightly charged by God to ravish souls. The modern pagan conception of him is darker and excludes all traits of kindness and mercy. Men hate him as the inexorable hunter whose quarry is human souls, or the warrior whom no human prowess can overthrow, no beauty soften. In his fascinating book, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, Lawson gives many a popular song and ballad to illustrate both of these conceptions of Charos.

Charon, the old boatman of the Styx, seems to have suffered a great sea-change down the centuries. For Lawson found only one folk-

song which clearly presented Charon in the guise of a ferryman. And that too, despite the fact that, until recently, the custom persisted of placing a coin in the mouth of the dead, just as in Lucian's days and long before, men "put an obol in the dead man's mouth as passage-money for the boatman." How can we account for the difference between this Charos, the lord of death, and the ancient Charon, the boatman of the dead? Lawson gives a plausible explanation of what probably took place.<sup>28</sup> He believes that the modern conception of Charos is a survival of the primitive popular view of Charon, while the literary picture of him as ferryman and *portitor* came later, gained currency (possibly because of Polygnotus' famous painting), and temporarily eclipsed the older popular view. But this popular conception still survived underground, so to speak, and strongly enough to reappear later on in medieval and modern Greece and finally submerge the literary picture of Charon as boatman. If only we had the ancient folk-lore to compare with the modern, we could speak with more assurance.

Virgil was right: *cruda deo viridisque senectus*. Charon has had a long life in folklore, literature, and art. For us too he still lives a deathless life in the memorable picture of Virgil, on the urns and frescoes of Etruria, and on the graceful Athenian lekythoi which "tease us out of thought as doth eternity."

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Canto 3, 83-84, 109.

<sup>2</sup> Act 3, 2, 11 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Act 1, 247 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Description of Greece* 10, 28, 1. The Minyad was a poem of the epic cycle attributed by Pausanias (4, 33, 7) to Prodicus of Phocaea. Charon first appears in Greek art on a terra-cotta preserved in Munich, dating from the sixth century B.C.

<sup>5</sup> Sept. 855 ff.

<sup>6</sup> H.F. 432 ff.; Alc. 252 ff., 361 ff., 439 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Ran. 139 ff., 183 ff.; Lys. 605 ff.; Plut. 278 ff.

<sup>8</sup> S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to M. Aurelius* (London, 1919), p. 337.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. also *De Luctu* 10.

<sup>10</sup> A.P., B. 7, 365, 600, 671. Cf. also 63, 65, 68, 603. It may be noted here that, in the *Anthology* and in other funerary inscriptions, the name Charon becomes prac-

tically a synonym of Thanatos and Hades. Cf. A.P., B. 7, 603, 671, and C.I.G., add. II, 2239 c, 6203, 6239.

<sup>11</sup> Dial. Mort. 27, 9.

<sup>12</sup> A. Fairbanks, *Athenian White Lekythoi* (New York, 1914), vol. 6, pls. 7 and 14; vol. 7, pls. 3, 4, 24.

<sup>13</sup> For these two vases see also Gisela M. A. Richter, *Attic Red-figured Vases* (New Haven, 1946), pp. 113 and 122. Miss Richter interprets the scene on Fig. 2 somewhat differently: Charon is waiting to act as ferryman for the child, while the mother stands by bidding him farewell.

<sup>14</sup> Capt. 5, 4, 1.

<sup>15</sup> R. N. 3, 1023; 6, 763-764.

<sup>16</sup> C. 2, 3, 27.

<sup>17</sup> 1, 10, 37.

<sup>18</sup> 2, 27, 13 ff.; 2, 28, 39 ff.; 3, 5, 14; 4, 11, 7. Propertius, like Virgil, calls Charon *portitor*, which strictly means "harbor-master." Cf. Donatus on Virgil, *Aen.* 6, 298. But he was also a ferryman (*nauta*) and the two notions tend to become merged in literature.

<sup>19</sup> Ovid, *Met.* 10, 73; Petron., *Sat.* 121; Sen., *H.F.* 764 ff.; *Oed.* 168; Juv., 3, 264 ff. So too Lucan, *Sil. Ital. Apul.*, and Claudian refer to Charon.

<sup>20</sup> For the Greek inscription, cf. H. Dessau, *Inscript. Lat. sel.* (Berlin, 1906), vol. 2, part 2, 8156. For the Latin epitaph, cf. F. Buecheler, *Carm. Lat. Epigraph.* (Leipzig, 1897), vol. 2, 1109. Charon's skiff is also mentioned in 1186-1187, 1223, 1265, 1537, 1549. R. Lattimore discusses the Greek and Latin inscriptions of this type in his book, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana, 1942), ch. 3.

<sup>21</sup> F. Cumont, *Afterlife etc.* (New Haven, 1923), p. 84. The question of the vitality of these ideas is also discussed by L. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire* (Eng. trans. New York, no date), vol. 3, pp. 298 ff.

<sup>22</sup> G. Dennis, *Cities etc.* (London, 1848, 2 vols.); F. De Ruyt, *Charun etc.* (Rome, 1934).

<sup>23</sup> The mallet appears on four monuments bearing Charon's name and on 114 other monuments which certainly represent him. Occasionally he bears a sword or torch. It is clear, then, that the mallet was the essential attribute of Charon.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. De Ruyt, *op. cit.*, p. 163, where these scenes are discussed. The oar appears on only six late monuments.

<sup>25</sup> De Ruyt believes that, though Charon is an "ensemble original" of the Etruscans, certain elements in the character ascribed to him came originally from Assyria, before the Etruscans had emigrated to Italy from the East.

<sup>26</sup> J. C. Lawson's book, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1910), is the best recent account of Charos. Cf. pp. 98 ff.

<sup>27</sup> The popular idea of Charon as Thanatos or Death had already, in medieval Greece, evolved into the strange figure of a black horseman, sword in hand, who rides about and snatches away men's souls. Cf. De Ruyt, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 114 ff.

## We See By the Papers. . . .

*Edited by Grundy Steiner*

AFTER THREE successful years in the capable hands of Dr. William C. Salyer, this department is now open for business under new management. No startling changes are projected for the moment, although experience and the suggestions of readers may cause alterations from time to time. At this writing, however, the chief aim is continuity—an aim temporarily achieved if only because virtually everything to follow was forwarded indirectly to this writer by Dr. Salyer. The content of this particular issue, then, may generally be credited to W. C. S.; he need not be censured for the form.

Unfortunately, as things have turned out, some injustice has probably been done to certain readers who contributed clippings, for their clippings were transmitted twice by mail and thereby some of the covering letters seem to have been lost. This means that sometimes there is not only no indication of who found the clipping, but actually, upon occasion, no indication of the newspaper from which it came. Probably a majority of the anonymous contributions were found by Dr. Salyer himself (and should be so attributed), but hereafter we shall aim to give full credit wherever that credit is due.

Meanwhile, it is our hope that readers will continue, as before, to forward to this department any and all tidbits to illustrate the doings of classicists and the devious ramifications of classical influences in the twentieth century.

### REVIVALS OF THINGS CLASSICAL

The cookbook of Apicius, for example, has been put to work again according to an Associated Press dispatch by Philip Clarke, dated from Rome, April 29. (This comes to us as an item from a St. Louis paper, but likewise may be found in the *CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR* of May 1, 1950.) Adolfo Necci, a restaurateur in Rome, the report runs, has sorted out some fifteen recipes from Apicius and has scheduled a series of Wednesday night "Banquets of Caesar" at a charge of 1,500 lire (about \$2.50) exclusive of tax and service. The first menu (handwritten on real sheepskin) included such items as *conditum ex testudine*, *lolliginem farsilem*, and *lacustulas more pompeiano*

(turtle soup, stuffed octopus head, and shrimp à la Pompeii). The reporter claims that only the octopus head, which was rubbery, was hard to manage but maintains that the Romans had stomachs of cast iron. (Members of CAMWS will recall the pleasure of a banquet served by Chef Joseph D. Vehling, also on the program as an expert on Apicius, at the Hotel Pfister in Milwaukee in 1948.)

We turn from food to culture. Syracuse (Sicily) is described as the world's center of the production of Greek and Roman plays in a clipping from the *LONG ISLAND SUNDAY PRESS* (July 2, 1950) forwarded by H. W. Benario of Flushing, N. Y. Current productions in the 2350 year old Greek theatre are *The Persians* and *The Bacchantes*. The presentations are described as spectacular "with splendid wild dancing by the Viennese dance group of Rosalia Chladek, rich music and royal Greek, Roman and Persian costumes in dark-red, yellow, bright blue and white." Meanwhile, twenty-five miles from Syracuse, at the site of ancient Acrae, Palazzolo Acreide was offering, as the comedy for the spring season, the *Adelphoe* of Terence.

And in this country the *NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE* on April 16 revived the story of the Sicilians, Corax and Tisias, as a 2,000 year old "brain-teaser." The *TRIBUNE's* account shows some traces of corruption in the tradition; for the pupil is unnamed and the teacher is called Protagoras, but one cannot have everything in his morning paper.

### NAMES IN THE NEWS

An undocumented story from Greenwich, Conn., tells of the transfer of Rosemary Hall, sixty-year-old preparatory school for girls from the hands of its founder-owner, Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees to its alumnae (the Rosemarian Association). Miss Ruutz-Rees will continue to live in her home at one end of the campus and to teach a class in advanced Latin in her library "as she has done to generations of Rosemary girls." A picture of her with a class accompanies the story.

Reports datelined at Los Angeles, June 21, (like one in *THE WASHINGTON POST*, forwarded by Miss Emilie M. White; see also *LIFE*, July 3) tell how the Imperial Council elected Professor H. M. Poteat of Wake Forest University the Imperial Potentate of the Ancient Arabic Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, succeeding actor and film producer Harold Lloyd. A picture of Professor Poteat appeared in the *ASHEVILLE (N.C.) CITIZEN* for June 22.

And the July 3, 1950 issue of *TIME* cited (with accompanying picture), among retiring members of college and university faculties, Arthur Stanley Pease of Harvard and gave as his "plan after he stopped teaching Latin: 'Study Latin.'"

### DERIVATIVES ON THE LOOSE

A casual pun in "Topics of *The Times*" (*NEW YORK TIMES*, May 18, 1950) occasioned a barrage of correspondence in "Letters to *The Times*." It started in a discussion of occasional chairs, with this observation: "So the husband sits down in that one remaining unoccupied chair. It is quite an occasion, which is where the chair gets its name, from the Latin verb 'occido,' meaning to kill by slow degrees." Morris Rosenblum (teacher at Samuel J. Tilden High School, Brooklyn, N. Y., our informant about all this), who signed himself as the founder of the Transpontine Antiquarian Society of Brooklyn in his letters to the *NEW YORK TIMES*, wrote a fitting letter of protest about the missed quantity (a letter which was published on May 24, 1950) in which he listed "scissors" as a cutting word derived from "caedo." The next day Dr. Joseph Weiss of New York forwarded a letter, published on May 31, maintaining that "scissors" derives from "scindo" and not "caedo," although he accepted the latter as the source for the French "ciseaux." Two letters of reply were written on June 4. One, from Mr. Rosenblum, published June 12, maintains the derivation from "caedo" through "cisorium" to "sissors" (the sixteenth century spelling), with the "c" creeping in through learned confusion with "scissor" ("a carver") from "scindo." The second letter, published on June 7, was from Kurt Rosenwald in Washington, D. C. He would accept either "caedo" or "scindo" as the source, but holds that the French "ciseaux" is not from "caedo," but rather from a diminutive of "sicilis" ("scythe"). Mr. Rosenblum, who was good enough to forward other clippings as well to this department, observes correctly that this correspondence indicates that the interest in Latin derivations is strong, adding that he has received many letters forwarded by the *Times* to his home.

### TESTIMONIALS

Gerald Wendt in a review (in the *NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE*, May 7, 1950) of *The Autobiography of Robert A. Millikan* summarizes Millikan's account of how he became a physicist: When, as a sophomore, he was asked by his pro-

fessor of Greek to teach a class in physics in the preparatory department, he protested that he knew no physics. "But the professor assured him that 'any one who can do well in my Greek can teach physics.' He believed it and spent the summer learning physics by solitary reading."

Mr. John C. Kirtland forwards (from *THE BOSTON HERALD*, June 23, 1950) the obituary of Dr. Fred B. Lund, surgeon associated with the Boston City Hospital for over thirty years, remarking that "the subject of this obituary was so prominent that his enthusiastic support of the cause of the Classics had no little influence." Dr. Lund, according to the clipping, was always interested in the study of the Classics. He had been president of the Boston Classical Club, and had been a member of the APA and of the New England Classical Association. He was the author of a number of surgical papers and articles on medicine in antiquity and the Middle Ages.

"The Reader's Guide" in the *NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE BOOK REVIEW* (April 30, 1950) contains a request for a Latin first reader which a parent could study with her children. The author of the column, Mrs. May L. Becker, makes her selection (*Latinum: A Reader for the First Stage of Latin*, by C. E. Robinson, Cambridge University Press) and then goes on to praise Latin as a school subject: "The effect of mine has lasted longer than that of any other class in high school. For it gave me not so much a language as a key to language, a sense of structure, and a desire, in case I should have something really worth saying, to get it into as few words as possible." This item was forwarded by Mrs. W. P. Barns of Lincoln, Nebraska, who remarks that she and her husband both took Master's degrees under the late Walter Miller and have maintained their classical interests through the years. She adds, "We even have a small Latin reading group here in Lincoln which meets monthly."

She may also have been the one who sent a brief clipping about a junior college girl who said of her last evening's date, "There was only a little interdigitating." The columnist excerpted complains that he, as an old Latin scholar, should not have failed to divine the meaning—"holding hands."

### LIVING LATIN

Two British Latin masters (George M. Lyne of the Blackpool Grammar School and Robert D. Wormold of the Worcester Royal Grammar School) are editing and publishing a thriving Latin newspaper, according to a story in *TIME*, May 1,



1950 (clipped by Mr. J. C. Morgan of York College, York, Nebraska). The *Acta Diurna*, well into its fifth year with circulation over 20,000, started with the big news of 55 B.C. and currently has reached 49 B.C. with Gaul subdued and Caesar across the Rubicon. Besides spot news of B.C. vintage, there are cartoons, weather forecasts (e.g., "Frigidus"), Poppaedi the Sailor-man, acrostics and other devices to encourage circulation. Caesar's affair with Cleopatra will soon be handled "delicately." Price, per issue: sixpence—less than a dime.

### FINE AND APPLIED ARTS

A cavalcade of Greek fashions was to be presented at the Waldorf-Astoria on April 20, according to the April 16 issue of *THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE*. The cavalcade is to tour the country and represents the work of Greek artists and designers to develop "Greek fashions to meet the tastes of a world market." The clipping, gleaned by Dr. Francis Lazenby of the University of Illinois, contains a picture taken before the Porch of the Maidens with a model in a dress which catches something of the spirit of the Caryatid above her.

A brief summary of the career of the Emperor Caracalla appeared in the *St. Louis STAR-TIMES*, June 3, 1950, in connection with a ten minute lecture on the "Masterpiece of the Week" which was to be given at the City Art Museum. The masterpiece for this date was the white marble head of the emperor.

*TIME* (June 26, 1950) reports that M-G-M is investing some \$9,000,000 in the filming of *Quo Vadis*, with 5,000 extras, six fighting bulls, fourteen racing chariots, fifty lions, an excavated facsimile of the Tiber, a repaved section of the Appian Way, a mammoth replica of Nero's palace, Robert Taylor and no end of other items to open the public's mouth.

A twenty-one story office building with glass-steel face and apparently no first floor is to be built for Lever Brothers in New York, according to the *NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE* (April 30, 1950). Mr. Rosenblum also sent along this clipping, since there is one architectural element of classical interest: In an open space at the center will be a garden at street level, "with a pool, not unlike the atrium and impluvium of classic Roman houses."

And from the Baton Rouge *STATE-TIMES* (May 16, 1950) comes the news (and pictures to prove it), forwarded by Mr. Paul G. Moorhead of

LSU, that the "lady of the fountain," a statue erected some thirty-six years ago by the WCTU in Baton Rouge, has been identified as a copy of the work of a Danish sculptor, Bertel Thorvaldsen—a statue of Hebe, complete with wine jug in her right hand.

### STRAY QUOTATIONS

"*Carpe Diem!* (Enjoy Yourself, It's Later Than You Think)" are the words to lead off an alluring advertisement in *TIME* (July 3, 1950) for a West Virginia resort.

Another Horatian quotation (*Tua res agitur* . . .) appears on the flyleaf of Kathleen Winsor's *Star Money*, according to an excerpt from the *NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW* (April 16, 1950) forwarded by Dr. Lazenby.

And the *Greek Anthology* is represented by a translation in "Words to Live by" in *THIS WEEK* magazine, a column written for the April 30 issue by Irwin Edman, author of *Philosopher's Quest*. The lines he quotes are:

A shipwrecked sailor on this coast bids you set sail.  
Full many a gallant ship ere we were lost, weathered the gale.

Mr. Edman feels that these words should be considered by a people accustoming itself too much to "the language of defeat and disillusion." The moral he would draw is, as the epitaph notes, "in spite of the many dangers, ships do arrive, sailors do accomplish their course."

### ASSORTED PARALLELS

Scattered through the public press come continued efforts to find parallels, for good or ill, between antiquity and today. Mr. Rosenblum forwards a column from the *NEW YORK DAILY COMPASS* of May 1, 1950, which virulently compares "Truman's Washington and Nero's Rome."

Francis Lazenby sends an advertisement from the April 16 issue of the *NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW* for René A. Wormser's book, *The Law*. The theme of this advertisement is that "Ancient Athens had a water-shortage, too!" as attested by Solon's laws relating to the digging of wells.

And Mr. Ralph H. Bastian, S.J., of West Baden College, wonders how well non-Horatian readers of the *CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE* understood the *TRIBUNE*'s front page colored editorial cartoon of April 26, 1950. The volcano "Congress" is shown erupting "Economy Noise" and across the foreground bounds an emaciated mouse labelled "The usual results."

# Words that Die

Frederick M. Combella

*So the Nike Apteros does not leave Athens; and Cupid is not winged in Propertius' case, but stays. Professor Combella is at the University of Oregon.*

ONE SOON LEARNS to be wary of making any broad, general statements about anything connected with the ancient world, but I fancy we could fairly say that there is no word or phrase in all the thousands of lines of Homer's poetry which has been so much quoted, imitated, commented upon, and argued about as the short expression which Homer uses so often before the speeches of his characters, *epea pteroenta*, winged words. This was obviously a phrase of which Homer himself was very fond, because he uses it nearly 125 times in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. There is no way for us now to know whether Homer invented this picturesque way of referring to speech or inherited it from those nameless predecessors who left him such a rich and varied treasure to serve as the basis for his own work. The fragments of ancient Homeric scholarship which have come down to us in the scholia show no great interest in the phrase, though they do tell us that winged words means "swift words. For nothing is swifter than speech."<sup>1</sup> In modern times scarcely any self-respecting commentator on Homer has felt able to omit more or less lengthy comments on winged words, and in addition to these notes of editors there have been numerous discussions in books about Homer and about Greek poetry and even a respectable series of essays devoted more or less exclusively to the subject. Finally, a German has, of course, attempted to solve the whole matter by changing the text and leaving us without any winged words at all.<sup>2</sup>

My own intention in these present remarks is not first to exhaust the reader with a

definitive history of the scholarship, amateur and professional, which has been devoted to winged words during the last 2000 years or so, and then try to revive him at the end with some bright new solution of my own. My purpose is far more modest and more feasible. I propose only to say a little about some of the most recent discussions of winged words and then to suggest the desirability of returning to an old interpretation of the phrase which seems to have been generally abandoned.

There are really three problems involved in the interpretation of winged words: first, what was the metaphor which the poet had in mind; second, when Homer says that a speaker spoke winged words, did he mean to indicate that there was some peculiar quality about those particular words which set them apart from words in general; thirdly, what, if anything, did Homer mean by calling words winged?

## What is the Metaphor?

THE FIRST PROBLEM need not detain us long. Scholars have shown a remarkable degree of agreement on the metaphor involved in winged words. They are not, of course, unanimous, but nearly all who have considered the point are sure that the poet is comparing human speech to the flight of birds. Like a bird suddenly released from a confining cage,<sup>3</sup> the words get by the barrier of the teeth and lips and fly to the ears of the listeners. In this connection W. B. Stanford, now Professor of Greek at the University of Dublin, has pointed out in his fine book *Greek Metaphor*<sup>4</sup> that the image of flight and



wings is a favorite with Homer. This might explain Homer's partiality for winged words and would make it easier to believe that he invented the phrase.

A few writers have disagreed with this interpretation of the metaphor involved in winged words, and this minority view was carefully presented in a paper published some ten years ago in *The Classical Quarterly* by J. A. K. Thomson.<sup>5</sup> Thomson argues that the metaphor has nothing to do with birds, but is taken from archery. *Epea pteroenta* are not really winged words but feathered words.<sup>6</sup> Just as an arrow must have feathers on it if it is to fly straight to the target, so words which are clear and immediately and completely intelligible to the listener are said by the poet to be feathered.<sup>7</sup> This variant view, however, does not seem to be widely held at present. It has been strongly, and many will feel convincingly, attacked by Stanford.<sup>8</sup>

### *Are Winged Words Peculiar Words?*

THIS LEADS US TO THE SECOND and closely related problem—quite apart from the question whether Homer in this metaphor is comparing words to birds or to arrows, are words in general winged or only some words? That is, do those speeches which Homer introduces with this phrase have some peculiar quality which distinguishes them from the other speeches in the poems? If they do, what is this quality?

On the whole, scholars in recent times have been pretty well agreed that whatever winged words are Homer did not mean to indicate that there was anything particularly unusual about the words which the phrase introduces, and the various attempts to find some peculiar quality in these speeches have not met with any great success. Some of the suggestions have, in fact, been almost incredible—for instance the notion that the phrase introduces short speeches.<sup>9</sup>

The most detailed and ingenious attempt to show that Homer felt that winged words were a peculiar kind of words is that made in 1935 by my former teacher so untimely

dead, G. M. Calhoun, in his article in *Classical Philology*, "The Art of Formula in Homer—ΕΠΕΑ ΠΤΕΡΟΕΝΤΑ."<sup>10</sup> From his repeated reading of the Homeric poems Calhoun had come to feel that there was a close connection between this formula, winged words, and the emotional state of the characters who speak the words. In his paper he analyses all<sup>11</sup> the instances of the use of winged words and tries to show that in every case the character who speaks winged words is in a state of heightened emotion. He emphasizes (to use his own words) "how uniformly this supposedly colorless tag is associated with emotional reactions or with tense situations, and how completely it covers the whole range of human feeling, from mild amusement and quiet satisfaction to hot anger or desperate fear." The point is argued with all Calhoun's usual skill, but I am not sure that any Homerist has been convinced that he is right. The article was immediately attacked in the same journal by Milman Parry,<sup>12</sup> also most untimely dead. Parry reiterated his belief "that Homer uses this phrase just because it is useful, and without thought for any particular meaning which the epithet 'winged' might have," and argued that very often the emotion which Calhoun found is really not there at all. The great fallacy in Calhoun's demonstration was, Parry felt, that "another critic, if he knew how to write as well as Professor Calhoun, could paraphrase in the same lively way the speeches introduced by any other group of formulas." A position rather similar to this was taken by the late John A. Scott in a letter to Calhoun. Scott argued that even if Calhoun conclusively proved that the speakers of winged words are uniformly under the influence of some emotion, this would really not justify us in attaching any special emotional connotations to the phrase winged words, because actually every speaker in Homer whether we are told that his words were winged or not can fairly be said to be speaking under the influence of some emotion. If a character were in a state of complete emotional quiescence, he would not say

anything. These arguments did not convince Calhoun that he was wrong, but I had the impression the last time I discussed the matter with him that he was less certain he was right.<sup>13</sup>

### *Are All Words Winged?*

IN THE ABSENCE, THEREFORE, of better arguments than have yet been offered, it would seem that when Homer says that so-and-so spoke winged words he does not mean to indicate that there was something about these particular words which differentiated them from other words. This phenomenon is, of course, very common in Homer, though it seems more than a little odd to us moderns, who expect our adjectives to have some particularizing meaning. But there are a great many Homeric expressions involving a noun and an adjective in which the adjective is not used to indicate some quality possessed by a given particular instance of that noun, but by that noun generally. For example, on a number of occasions we are told that the rosy-fingered dawn appeared. By this Homer is not trying to tell us that on these particular mornings there was an especially fine sunrise, but he is simply reminding us that dawns in general are likely to have rosy fingers. This Homeric use of an adjective in a generic sense becomes clearest, perhaps, in those instances where the adjective does not really fit the particular case. In the ninth book of the *Odyssey*, for example, Odysseus, telling the Phaeacians about his adventures with the Cyclops, describes the beginning of a new day with the familiar line, "And when the early, rose-fingered dawn appeared" (307), even though on that particular morning he was shut up tight in a cave and could not have known anything about the quality of the sunrise. Take, again, the treatment of the horses of Antilochus in the account of the chariot race in the twenty-third book of the *Iliad*, a passage which will also serve to illustrate the difficulties which were caused by this aspect of the Homeric style before its nature was understood. Horses in Homer are likely to be called swift-footed. When, there-

fore, in describing the preliminaries to the chariot race Homer introduces Antilochus, son of Nestor, as one of the contestants, he casually refers to Antilochus' swift-footed horses from Pylos. But only seven lines later Nestor warns his son that if he is to win this race he must rely on clever driving, because his horses are very slow. It is clear from the scholia that this contradiction bothered the ancient Homerists. Scholia A merely note the misuse of the adjective. B and T report rather complicated efforts to correct the difficulty by first changing two letters and producing *palaigenees*, "born long ago," instead of *Puloigenees*, "born at Pylos" (citing line 445 from which it appears that the horses were in fact old), and then interpreting the adjective "swift-footed" as a reference to a quality possessed by the horses in their youth. They cite as a parallel for this the epithet "with good ashen spear" used repeatedly of Priam, and referring not to a quality which he had in his old age depicted in the *Iliad*, but to his youthful prowess in bygone wars. Centuries later than these labored efforts to improve Homer, the great Richard Bentley was also troubled by these swift-footed very slow horses, and he corrected the passage more simply and drastically by changing "swift-footed" to "white-footed." With the greater understanding of the Homeric style which Homerists have now obtained, it has become apparent that these efforts to correct the passage are a waste of misguided ingenuity. Homer is so accustomed to connecting swiftness with horses that even when he first introduces these especially slow horses of Antilochus he automatically and unconsciously calls them swift-footed.

It is quite in keeping with the Homeric style, therefore, that words might be repeatedly called winged without any suggestion that the particular words so called differed from words in general. All words are winged, but Homer happens to mention that fact only now and then. Most Homerists will probably agree that Parry's rebuttal of Calhoun is sound and successful, but that still

leaves quite unsettled what winged words are. The lines in which Homer uses the phrase may in a sense mean, as Parry says, merely, "And he said." But in another sense they mean more than that. No one can fill an entire hexameter with "And he said." Something must be added, and presumably what is added means something. Parry has made a strong case for believing that the phrase winged words is not, as Calhoun and others have believed, of so restricted a meaning that it could be used only before speeches of a certain type. But one can accept this without believing that the phrase has no meaning at all. When we are told that a particular speaker on a particular occasion spoke winged words, we are apparently not being told that these particular words had some unusual quality, but we are still being reminded that words as a class are winged, whatever that may mean.

### What Are Winged Words?

AND WHAT DOES IT MEAN? There is nearly unanimous agreement that it means that words fly, whether they fly like birds or like arrows. From this some have gone on to the probably erroneous conclusion that the adjective has a particularizing effect and that winged words are words which can with special aptness be said to fly, either, for instance, because they are clearly and immediately understood and so may fittingly be compared to feathered arrows flying straight to a target, or because the speaker spoke more rapidly than usual and so his words could fittingly be compared to the swift flight of birds. This last notion fits in well with Calhoun's idea that speakers of winged words are under the influence of some emotion. The difficulty with all these efforts to find a particularizing effect in the adjective of the phrase is, as we have seen, that there is no particular effect which seems to be relevant in all the 124 instances in which speakers utter winged words. The speeches introduced by this phrase seem to have no peculiar quality which can be demonstrated to set them apart from Homeric speeches in general.

Because of this, recent commentators have been dubious of these particularizing mean-

ings and the orthodox contemporary view would seem to be that the expression winged words is merely a metaphorical reference to the swift flight of speech from mouth to ear. In one or two of the German school editions of Homer one finds a different interpretation of the phrase as a reference to the fact that words fly away and are lost. Düntzer, for instance, tells us in his note on line 122 of the first book of the *Odyssey*, "Words are winged, transitory, because they quickly die away."<sup>14</sup> Henke gives a similar note on the same line, "The transitory word . . . is compared with the bird which flies away."<sup>15</sup> But this interpretation is rarely met with among the commentators, and recent discussions of the phrase seldom if ever even refer to it.<sup>16</sup>

It is clearly impossible to prove which of these two interpretations is correct, but I feel more than a little sceptical of the wisdom of rejecting the view that winged words are transitory words, and there are, I think, one or two things to be said in its favor. In connection with this problem there is what seems to me a very suggestive note in Scholia B and T on line 101 of the sixteenth book of the *Iliad*. So far as I have noticed this has not previously been cited in any of the discussions of winged words. The reason for this is doubtless that the line with which the note deals does not contain the phrase winged words, and quite naturally even investigators who have turned to the scholia for light on this expression have missed this note because they confined themselves to examining notes on lines containing winged words. The note in question, after remarking that deeds are easy to remember but words are not, ends with the statement, "For words disappear, being winged." This suggests that the interpretation of winged words which has been so generally abandoned by modern Homerists may be a very old one and that for some, at least, of the Homerists of antiquity winged words were transitory words. We ought, I think, to give much more weight to the possibility that when he used the expression Homer was not reminding his audience that words are quick things which fly from speaker to hearer, but that words

are evanescent things which fly away and do not persist after being uttered. They are not so much flying words as fleeting words, not words that fly but words that die.

A valid point in support of this interpretation is that it involves a contrast between words and deeds. The Greeks from Homer down never wearied of stressing this contrast between word and deed, though their repeated *logos men . . . ergon de* in its infinite variations often wearies us. If winged words are fleeting words, then Homer's words that die would be one side of this contrast with the other implied instead of being expressed.

This ephemeral quality of words as compared to deeds would be especially likely to impress itself upon men in an age when writing was unknown or very unfamiliar. Pindar opposes this attitude in the first strophe of his Fourth Nemean: "The word which the tongue draws from the depths of the mind with the Graces' favor lives longer than deeds." But even in modern times Lincoln could with a beautiful appropriateness return to the other view: "The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here." More commonly, of course, after reading and writing have become familiar, the typical contrast comes to be between the spoken and the written word, "scripta manent, verba volant." So the fourteenth-century booklover Richard of Bury says, "The meaning of the voice perishes with the sound; . . . but truth which shines forth in books desires to manifest itself to every impressionable sense."<sup>17</sup> It is of some interest that once or twice in his *Poetry of Homer*<sup>18</sup> Bassett uses the expression in such a way as to suggest that to him the phrase had an implication of the evanescence of speech:

"A reader with print before his eyes can reread the words if their full import is not clear at first, or if he wishes to enjoy again the emotion which they arouse. But the 'winged word' cannot be thus recalled." (74.)

"Emerson records in his *Journal* his reply to a young man who found nothing of interest in a book Emerson had recommended: 'Perhaps it was not *your hour*.' To Homer's

audience the moment of recitation was always its hour, for the winged word does not return." (114-115.)

If Homer meant by winged words words that die, the expression takes on a peculiar pathos. How melancholy it is that this man whose life must have been devoted largely or entirely to words and not to deeds should have felt impelled to remind his listeners 124 times that while the deeds of the heroes of the Trojan War would remain forever in men's minds, his own words were winged ephemerids doomed to die almost as soon as they were spoken. And yet these great deeds of the heroes who won and the heroes who lost at Troy owe their immortality to Homer's words that die.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Even this modest observation (on *Iliad*, 1, 201) does not appear in the more important scholia, A, B (edited by Dindorf, 4 volumes, Oxford, 1875-77), and T (edited by Maass, 2 volumes, Oxford, 1887-88), but in the minor "scholia Didymi," which are reproduced in some of the editions of the *Iliad* which appeared before Villoison published Scholia A for the first time in 1788. See, for instance, Barnes' edition, Cambridge, 1711, page 18. In his remarks on *Iliad*, 1, 201, Eustathius (ed. Stallbaum, 7 volumes, Leipzig, 1825-30) also records, *inter alia*, that words are called winged because of their swiftness.

<sup>2</sup> See Ameis-Hentze, *Anhang zu Homers Ilias*, 2nd. ed. (Leipzig, 1887), on *Iliad*, 8, 101: "Eine befriedigende Auslegung der Wendungen mit *ἔπεα πτερόεντα* vermissend, glaubt Weck in den Jahrb. f. Phil. 1884, p. 433 ff. durch Konjekturen helfen zu müssen, indem er *ἐπε' ἀπτερόεντα* schreiben will in dem Sinne, ergreifende, packende, rührende Worte, am allgemeinsten vielleicht wiederzugeben: die angelegentlichen Worte." I have not myself seen Weck's speculations.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the Homeric expression, "What a word has escaped the barrier of your teeth."

<sup>4</sup> Oxford (Blackwell), 1936.

<sup>5</sup> "Winged Words," *Class. Quart.*, 30 (1936), 1-3.

<sup>6</sup> Wilhelm Wackernagel in his treatise, *EIEIA IITEPOENTA—Ein Beitrag zur Vergleichenden Mythologie* (Basel, 1860), also believed that *befiederte* Worte would be a better rendering than *geflügelte Worte*, but otherwise he has little or nothing in common with Thomson. Only a few of Wackernagel's large pages are devoted to a consideration of Homer's phrase. Nearly all of his essay deals with birds rather than with words, and the reader who comes to it hoping to find a detailed treatment of the Homeric usage and the various attempts to explain Homer's meaning will be disappointed. He may even feel that it would have been more appropriate,

if less dignified, for Wackernagel to call his treatise, "A Little Bird Told Me."

<sup>7</sup> Much of Thomson's discussion is devoted to the expression *apteros muthos*, "unwinged word," which occurs four times in the *Odyssey* (17, 57; 19, 29; 21, 386; 22, 398). Thomson argues that this means a word not clearly and completely understood, i.e., it is like an unfeathered arrow which fails to hit the target. This seems to me much less likely than the more generally accepted interpretations: on the assumption that the unwinged word is the word just uttered, the expression means that the word was not forgotten, but remained in the mind of the hearer; on the assumption that the unwinged word is the word of the hearer, the expression means that the hearer did not answer. Of these two I prefer the second. Either of them can be said to be consistent with the facts in each passage, and either of them is quite consistent with the interpretation of winged words which, it will appear, I prefer. (Stanford on pages 136 f. has made a convincing case against taking the alpha as intensive and interpreting the phrase as a synonym for winged words.)

<sup>8</sup> 137, note 1.

<sup>9</sup> Mentioned with appropriate disdain by Parry in his article, "About Winged Words," *Class. Phil.*, 32 (1937), 59-63 (see note 3 on page 61).

<sup>10</sup> 30 (1935), 215-227.

<sup>11</sup> Through inadvertence Calhoun omitted *Iliad*, 24, 142, where the phrase occurs after a speech.

<sup>12</sup> See footnote 9.

<sup>13</sup> The newest translator of the *Odyssey*, E. V. Rieu, indicates in his *Introduction* (New York, Penguin Books, 1946, page xv) a conception of the phrase quite similar to Calhoun's: "... an examination of all the passages where it is used leads me to think that it indicates an utterance delivered with particular care and emphasis, or under the influence of some strong emotion . . ." Whether Rieu reached this conclusion independently or was influenced by Calhoun does not appear.

<sup>14</sup> *Homers Odyssee*, 2nd. ed. (Paderborn, 1875): "be-flügelt, flüchtig, sind die Worte, da sie rasch verhallen."

<sup>15</sup> *Die Gedichte Homers. Erster Teil: Die Odyssee*, 4th ed. (Leipzig and Berlin, 1906): "das flüchtige Wort . . . wird mit dem davonfliegenden Vogel verglichen."

<sup>16</sup> *Monro, Homer's Odyssey, Books 13-24* (Oxford, 1901), in a note on 17, 57, does categorically state that the phrase winged words "means words uttered, not words that fly away and are lost . . ." The most recent editor, Stanford (*The Odyssey of Homer*, Vol. 1, London, 1947), does not mention this interpretation.

<sup>17</sup> *Nam virtus vocis perit cum sonitu; . . . veritas vero quae lucet in libris omni se disciplinabili sensu manifestare desiderat. The Philobiblon of Richard de Bury*, edited and translated by E. C. Thomas, London, 1888. The Latin is on page 12, the English on 163.

<sup>18</sup> Berkeley, 1938.

## THE ROLE OF LATIN IN TRAINING FOR GOOD ENGLISH

IN OUR COLUMN OF LAST MAY (p. 354) we called attention to the declaration of an Iowa school board warning the school officials that, if high school seniors did not show an improvement in their use of English, they might be denied their graduation diplomas. Since readers of the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* have not yet acquainted the editor with similar situations in their own states, we have had our attention called to an English grammar inadequacy in another Iowa educational institution, this time a college. President Samuel N. Stevens of Grinnell College, who has made a ten-year study of the scholastic record of students in their preparatory schools compared with that made at Grinnell, is reported by the *Des Moines Sunday Register* (July 9, 1950) to have remarked, "Too many present-day high school graduates are socially well adjusted but culturally illiterate." . . . "Too many high schools are weak in those things requiring drill and discipline." He noticed in his study that students come to college lacking training in grammar, spelling and mathematics. "There has been a decline in the serious teaching of English, of classical and modern languages and laboratory science." Dr. Stevens believes that English grammar should be "over-learned," so that correct usage will come easily and naturally. He praises certain schools in Iowa and in surrounding states for the quality of students sent to Grinnell, but laments the number of schools that offer few or no courses in foreign languages. He praises the Evanston, Oak Park, and Highland Park high schools of Illinois, whose students, when coming to Grinnell, "rarely need remedial work."

This seems to be both our definite challenge and an attainable goal: to train our pupils carefully in the principles of Latin grammar, making wise and constant correlations with the fundamentals of English grammar, so that, whatever their attainment in two years in the reading of Latin, they will not raise perplexed faces to the college instructor's queries: What is a transitive verb? A predicate nominative? An impersonal verb? The difference between an adjectival and an adverbial clause? Is it *I* or is it *me*? *Whom* am I talking to or *Who* am I talking to? and other simplicities of speech *ad infinitum*.<sup>1</sup>

D.S.W.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. William D. Templeman's fine article, "A College English Teacher Looks at the Study of Latin," in

*College English*, Vol. 4, No. 8, May, 1943. Cf. also "A Controversy," by D.S.W., *The Classical Outlook*, Vol. 24, No. 3, Dec., 1946.



# College for ALL versus Educational Standards

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THE RECENT REPORT of the President's Commission on Higher Education, in which they envisage a doubling of the present college population by 1960, gives material for deep thought to every one interested in education. The practical problem of how the college plants and the college faculty could likewise be doubled in twelve years is in itself arresting. A matter which is less challenging at the moment, but of more lasting significance to the future of education in America, is the question of the effect which these increased numbers would have upon the general level of scholarship in the colleges. So large an increment would inevitably exert great influence upon the standards and the ideals of higher education.

As an example and a parallel, we can, I believe, find illumination in a study of the results that have come about in the high schools as a result of the increase in their numbers between the years 1900 and 1948. There, to be sure, the increase has been far greater, since the high school population was multiplied almost thirteen times in that period. That great influx brought many changes in its train. The crowding of the schools, the overloading of the teachers, and the reduction of the opportunities for personal contacts between teachers and students are results too obvious to need comment.

Another sequence was the modification of the curriculum to provide for the many new students of average or low ability. A committee report on "What the High Schools Ought to Teach," which was published by

The American Council on Education in 1940, states, p. 7: "The change in student population is compelling secondary schools to modify their curriculum. The program of instruction that may possibly have been appropriate when pupils were few and selected does not fit at all the great majority of those now in school." Long before 1940, however, great changes had been effected.

The first to win favor was the elective system. An editorial in *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* of May 1946, p. 369, states that from 1895 until 1934 the subjects offered in the high schools increased from 16 to 206. "There simply aren't that many respectable subjects," the writer declares. "The elective system has turned education into a cafeteria, with the customers attracted to the counter offering largely educational pie."

Another result became evident in 1916, when Abraham Flexner demanded that the schools should banish all subject matter that did not offer an immediate appeal to the student. He held that history should become a study of current events, that mathematics should be largely restricted to the simple processes used every day, and that Shakespeare should be shelved in favor of George Ade. In accordance with these ideas, Professor John F. Bobbitt of Teachers College, Columbia University, in his book on "The Curriculum," Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1918, advocated an extensive development of vocational training. The school program should include, he said, p. 101, "work with wood, paint, metals, electricity, printing,

leather, clay, and operations such as making bricks and pottery, weaving, sewing, book making, farming, banking, and accounting. Manual training should continue throughout the elementary schools and largely in the high school. Students should read extensively about all important occupations: e.g. from 200 to 500 pages are needed to explain railroads." This emphasis upon vocationalism has grown steadily. Between the years 1926 and 1940 the Curriculum Laboratory of Teachers College, Columbia University, collected about 1,200 vocational courses, two thirds of which were given in the high schools. The magazines *School Arts* and *Industrial Arts and Education* list a few of the vocational courses and projects offered in the schools last year: selling programs, store training, puppetry, projects for making a bee hive, a sheet metal wren house, and a glass top nut bowl with hammer and anvil. We are told in the journal *Ohio Schools*, 26, 172, that in that state functional vocational education serves the community needs by having the students follow a practical program of meat cutting. Granted that some of these activities involve useful techniques: how many of the students will be brass cutters, or puppeteers in the future? For the boy who is incapable of doing anything except to work with his hands, vocational training is the thing needed; but to allow the able student to spend much time in a type of work that is far beneath his ability and which he is not at all likely to follow in the future is wickedly wasteful.

Still another change of the last forty years has been a great development in clubs and extra-curricular activities. Beginning as departmental clubs, they have now spread far beyond that limited range. Harold Spears, in his book on "Secondary Education in American Life," American Book Company, New York, 1941, states, p. 151, that it is not unusual for a school of 1,000 students to support a program involving fifty clubs, each student being able to join two. He gives, pp. 172-3, typical schedules of these clubs, including, among many other subjects, handicraft, swing music, tap dancing, charm, and ping pong.

In the high school of a certain New Jersey town, it was found difficult for the clubs to secure in the time after school the student participation that was desired. Hence in the year 1946-47, as I was told by the mother of one of the freshmen, all club activities were placed in the morning, the regular class work being consigned, for many of the pupils, entirely to the afternoon. The next logical step, which I saw recommended several times, is that academic credit be given for club activities. Against the pressure of all these materialistic pursuits, such subjects as history, mathematics, science, and languages are fighting a losing battle for student time. In the *School Review* of April, 1948, Stephen M. Corey of Columbia University Teachers College, noting that a certain group in Stanford University regards "some knowledge of foreign languages as an essential part of a liberal education," remarks: "This claim might be defended were it not for the fact that time is limited." In other words, all the vocational activities and clubs must be provided for first; whatever time is left over, if any, may be given to the so-called scholarly subjects.

Even with the educational subject matter diluted to the extent we have seen, teachers still found difficulty in bringing all their students up to passing grade. Yet the school rooms could not be clogged with repeaters. Also, many psychologists began to demand that students should not be allowed to fail, lest they develop an inferiority complex. The shock awaiting those students when they leave school and discover how very easy it is to fail, seems to have been omitted from educational thought. The teachers, therefore, have resorted to every means of predigesting the small amount of educational pabulum that they were still trying to induce their students to swallow. *The English Journal*, of April 1948, gives an account of how one teacher, realizing that the traditional method of language instruction was not succeeding with a large number of today's high school students, embarked on an effort to make grammar "senseful." Hence she created many new



terms as "namer" (noun), "teller" (predicate), "double teller" (compound predicate), "repeater" (appositive), and "turned around sentence" (inverted order). Yet even such desperate methods as this cannot bring all students to a passing grade. The next step, therefore, is: grades must be abolished. Miss Blanche Trezevant in the *English Journal* of April 1948 says, "The child should not be penalized by having to meet definite requirements for promotion. He will be discouraged at being left behind. Why not do away with grades, and let the child be promoted if he has done the best of which he is capable?" How is the student to know when he has done his best? Frail human nature rarely works to full capacity without some spur. For the inferior student, however, this policy of *laissez faire* is less disastrous than for the capable student. He can hardly escape the habit of sliding by without ever using his full powers. Every college teacher is familiar with the laments of the freshmen that they never before knew what it was really to work. One college student said to me: "Latin was the hardest subject in high school. We always had to put fifteen minutes on it at home, and sometimes half an hour." Hard work, persistence against difficulties, and the thrill of mastering them, has been largely removed from the experience of the high school student of today.

Hand in hand with this weakening and diffusion of the curriculum, there has developed tremendous pressure exerted upon the colleges to accept for college entrance a wide variety of industrial subjects. Few are the colleges that have not yielded in some measure to that pressure. *The School Review* of March 1948 states that 60 per cent of the colleges now require no units of foreign language for entrance, and that 48 per cent require no mathematics. Many colleges have ceased to demand any specific subject other than English. Hence the standard that colleges used to provide for a modicum of sound and well chosen knowledge upon entering college has largely disappeared.

The results consequent upon these various

adaptations made by the schools to provide for their large numbers are evident and frequently noted. The *New York Times* of July 7, 1937, quoted President Robert Hutchins of the University of Chicago concerning the attempt to combine general education with vocational training: "It fails in both respects—we don't get either good practitioners nor well educated people." Two years ago the parents association of the high school of Scarsdale, N. Y., chose a committee from their number to make an extended examination of the attainments—or lack of them—of their high school students. In the spring of 1947 the report was delivered. It found the pupils woefully weak in English and in the most elementary facts of history, science, geography, and language. Mathematics came out best in the record because, stated the committee, "The progressive educator has as yet found no way to monkey with the multiplication table." The late Nicholas Murray Butler summarized it: "America is the best half-educated country in the world." Now I do not mean to imply that all the methods and objectives that I have cited are favored by the entire personnel of the high schools. There are many who are heroically struggling against the tide. But the proponents of the new developments are numerous and very vocal. The recent books and magazines on education that I examined showed a very large number of advocates for the ideas that I have quoted.

I have presented in some detail the changes that have come about in the high school curriculum and standards consequent upon the increased student population since 1900 because it seems to me that only through those developments can we judge what changes are likely to come about in the colleges if their present enrollment is doubled, as is the plan of the President's Report. Let us consider the changes which they propose.

Of the program, the provision of federal scholarships to aid 20 per cent of all candidates for college, the ablest being chosen by examinations, is certainly most appealing. At first thought such an addition of able, but

financially handicapped, students to the college ranks is heart-warming. But it would not work out as an actual increase of 20 per cent of good students over the present numbers. Many of the students who are now attending college by virtue of their parents' self-denial, their own hard work, and the aid of individual colleges and other organizations, would be included in this 20 per cent receiving federal aid. Consequently the addition would be less significant than it seems, at first sight. Again, this accession of good students would be counterbalanced by a larger number of students who, according to the plan, would finish high school, and hence be eligible for college. In 1940, 73 per cent of the students of high school age were enrolled. The committee declares, Vol. I, p. 37, that high school education must be provided for all normal youth. Therefore there is planned an increase of nearly 27 per cent (allowing a slight reduction for the sub-normal) in the potential candidates for college. The Commission's desire is that the numbers attending college should be increased to at least 49 per cent for the first two years of college, and at least 32 per cent for the last two years. Thus there would be a far greater influx of mediocre students into college than the number of superior students who were added through the scholarships.

To provide for the additional 27 per cent of the students who are to enter the high schools, the Commission states that high school education must be improved, both in facilities and in the diversity of its curriculum. Development toward diversity can hardly be brought about except through more vocational subjects. Hence we must expect that the pressure upon the colleges to accept almost anything for entrance credits will become intensified. That is already obvious, as shown by the following quotations, which are only two from many like expressions. Harold Spears, in his book on "Secondary Education in American Life," American Book Company, New York 1941, says, "More and more the high school is feeling that the enriched program that is developing should

not be denied to the student that is going to college, just because he is loaded down with courses prescribed by the higher school" (p. 97). "Secondary schools are just beginning to dig their wagon out from the academic sands that have covered the wheels. It is still far from its destination, and until it arrives it will speak of extra-curricular activities as though they were subsidiary to the regular program of the class. These activities of adolescent youth are actually the life blood of the curriculum" (p. 382). Mr. G. N. Harriger, in the *School Review* of March 1948, says, "To eradicate the unworthy distinction between academic and non-academic subjects, both high school and college officials should be publicizing the increasing liberal and non-discriminatory character of college entrance requirements. The college preparatory curriculum should be abolished because it is too coarse an instrument to perform the guidance service for which it is intended."

In addition to the students entering college from the high schools, there will also be students who have completed two years at a junior college and wish to enter a senior college for the last two years. The Commission plans for a very great increase in community colleges, so that many students could live at home for their first two years. It postulates for them a large proportion of utility subjects, suggesting, Vol. I, pp. 68-69, as a few examples of the offerings, courses for medical secretaries, recreational leaders, hotel and restaurant managers, salesmen of life insurance and real estate, photographers, automotive and electrical technicians, dental hygienists, nurse's aids, and laboratory technicians. It is expected that many graduates from the community colleges will terminate their education there; but undoubtedly many will want to press on to a B.A. or a B.S. degree. Hence the colleges will be asked to accept for entrance credit every variety of technical course. The difficulty would be intensified by having considerable numbers coming to the senior college for only the last

# NOTES

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## EUPHEMISTIC AND RELATED USES OF PAST TENSES

IT is not difficult to understand euphemisms, for most of us were familiar with them before we learned the word that designates them. It seems, however, that they become more interesting when a number of examples are offered for comparison. In this note I am primarily concerned with euphemistic and related uses of past tenses which convey the idea that certain things that were true in the past are no longer true.

During the confusion at the capture of Troy, Aeneas encounters Panthus, a priest of Apollo, who is trying to save some holy objects from the Greeks. Since Aeneas has just been aroused from sleep, he asks Panthus about the plight of the city. In an effort to soften the shock of his sad news the priest replies: "Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium<sup>1</sup> et ingens gloria Teucrorum" (*Aeneid* 2. 325-326). This is doubtless the most famous euphemism in Latin literature.

Ovid and Propertius paid Vergil a compliment by imitating his usage in their more casual references to the destruction of Troy and Thebes: "Est ubi Troia fuit Phrygiae contraria tellus" (Ovid, *Met.* 13. 429); "Iam seges est ubi Troia fuit" (Ovid, *Her.* 1. 53); "Hic steterat<sup>2</sup> Priami regia celsa senis" (*ibid.* 1. 34); "Magni saepe duces, magni cecidere tyranni, Et Thebae steterunt<sup>2</sup> atque Troia fuit" (Propert. 2. 8. 9-10).<sup>3</sup>

A much later analogue of Vergil's euphemism is to be found on Russian medals commemorating the defeat of the Turks at the battle of Chesme Bay on July 24, 1770.<sup>4</sup> On the obverse the bust of Catherine II appears. On the reverse four Russian ships are represented; to the left there is a view of the city of Chesme, with burning Turkish ships in the background. At the top occurs the Russian

word for WAS; at the bottom, the name CHESME. The inscription WAS CHESME<sup>5</sup> may well have been modeled upon Vergil's "fuit Ilium." Evidently the need for epigraphic brevity rather than a desire to spare the feelings of the vanquished determined the selection of the verb, but a harsh one might have been used.

One inevitably recalls Vergil's usage on reading a passage in Appian (*Syr.* 7. 37). After the defeat and death of an obstinate enemy the Romans made a byword of his fate: "There was a king Antiochus the Great."<sup>6</sup> Since it is not customary to resort to a euphemism in referring to the death of an enemy, perhaps we have here a mock euphemism.

In sepulchral inscriptions ill-omened words are frequently avoided by the use of the perfect tense of *sum*:

Nil sumus et fuimus mortales. Respice, lector,  
in nihil ab nichilo quam cito recidimus.

*Carmina Latina Epigraphica* 1495)  
Non fui, fui, non sum, non curo (*CIL* 5, 1813).  
Non fui, fui, memini, non sum, non curo (*CIL*  
13, 530).

Non fui, fui, non sum, non desidero (*CIL* 8,  
3463).

From the island of Mallorca come examples of the formula "Fuisti, vale,"<sup>7</sup> which betrays such utter despair that there could hardly have been more than a trace of euphemism in *fuisti*. Perhaps it may be called a conventional euphemism. Nor could there have been much euphemism left in such an alphabetic formula as NFFNSNC (= "Non fui, fui, non sum, non curo"). One of our most distinguished clergymen calls this formula a "cynical, hopeless summary of life" and, in contrast with Christian faith

and assurance, "the quintessence of surrender."<sup>8</sup>

To have done with life sometimes seemed better than to be alive, if one may judge from the following example (Plaut. *Capt.* 516): "Nunc illud est quom me fuisse quam esse nimio mavelim." Willingness to be through with earthly existence is proclaimed in this couplet (Tibullus 3. 5. 31-32):

Vivite felices, memores et vivite nostri,  
Sive erimus seu nos fata fuisse velint.<sup>9</sup>

The perfect tense was sometimes used in sad retrospect of things that had ceased to be: "Sed fortuna fuit" (*Aeneid* 7. 413); "Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac re publica virtus" (Cic. *In Cat.* 1. 3).

According to Plutarch's version (*Cato* 27. 1) of a famous remark, Cato said: "And to me it seems best for Carthage not to be." In positive terms this would be: "And to me it seems best for Carthage to have been."

A euphemism that is well known wherever the classics are studied was employed by Cicero during the troublous days of Catiline's conspiracy (Plut. *Cicero* 22. 2).<sup>10</sup> In reporting to the Senate the execution of several of Catiline's followers he used the single word "Vixerunt." Plutarch gives the impression that this was a rather common way of indicating death without using a word of ill omen.<sup>11</sup>

In an inscription we find a less urgent use of *vivo*: "Vixi, et ante aliae vixere puellae" (*CIL* 2. 1821).

Sometimes Romans who were still living used the perfect tense of *vivo* to indicate that for them life was virtually over, as did Cicero (*Ad Fam.* 14. 4. 5) in writing to his family: "Viximus; floruius;<sup>12</sup> non vitium nostrum sed virtus nostra nos afflixit." Dido (*Aeneid* 4. 653) gave expression to a similar idea just before her tragic death: "Vixi et quem dederat cursum fortuna, peregi." This line was often quoted by an elderly Roman official who was serving in Syria. He had daily funeral services held for himself, during which his servants chanted in Greek: "He has lived. He has lived."<sup>13</sup>

Like *fui*, *vixi* could be used to suggest that to have lived might be better than to be

living: "vixisse nimio satiust iam quam vivere" (Plaut. *Bacch.* 1. 2. 43).<sup>14</sup>

There occurs in Terence a use of *habui* with emotional force that is especially interesting because of a far later parallel. In *Heauton Timoroumenos*, 93-95, Menedemus laments:

Filium unicum adulescentulum  
Habeo. Ah, quid dixi? Habere me? Immo habui,  
Chremes;  
Nunc habeam necne incertumst.<sup>15</sup>

With these words one may compare a passage in Dante's *Inferno* 10. 58-69. When Dante is being conducted through Hell by Vergil, a Florentine, Cavalcante de' Cavalcanti, weepingly inquires why his son Guido, a friend of Dante, is not with him. Dante replies:

"I come not of myself;  
He who is waiting yonder leads me here,  
Whom in disdain perhaps your Guido had [ebbe]."

The use of the verb *ebbe* alarms Cavalcante, and he anxiously presses Dante for further information:

"How  
Saidst thou,—he had [ebbe]? Is he not still alive?  
Does not the sweet light of day strike upon his  
eyes?"<sup>16</sup>

The intensity of these lines greatly impressed Carlyle ("The Hero as Poet"), but faulty memory, combined with the inescapable analogy of Vergil's *fuit*, led him to use *fue* in his casual reference to this passage in Dante.<sup>17</sup>

In his edition of the *Mostellaria* (p. xli) Professor E. W. Fay lists several verbs which he regards as synonymous with *fui* and *vixi* and which he calls "emotional perfects." They are as follows: in the indicative, *perii* (387, 993), *perii*, *interii* (1031), *disperii* (1030), *occidi*(t) (350, 369), *absumpti sumus* (364); in the subjunctive, *perierint* (148); in the infinitive, *me perisse . . . cupit* (349). These words mean "to be undone," but Professor Fay does not say that they are euphemistic. Such uses are not uncommon in other plays of Plautus.

Whether or not there was euphemism in an inscription that Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, 29, 11)

saw, "Turba medicorum perii,"<sup>18</sup> depends on what word (or words) *perii* supplanted—if, indeed, it supplanted anything. There was a popular saying, however, that "many physicians have slain a king" (Dio 69. 22. 4).

It may be noted, in conclusion, that the passages which reveal a desire to avoid ominous words illustrate one aspect of ancient life even better than a point in linguistic usage.

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> I was astounded to find that the words "fuit Ilium" are regarded as an insult to the Trojans by A. A. Rohack, *A Dictionary of International Slurs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1944) 77. He has coined the word "ethnophaulism" to designate uncomplimentary names applied to foreign nations.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Aeneid* 2. 351-352: "Excessere omnes . . . di quibus imperium hoc steterat."

<sup>3</sup> For examples in Greek see Euripides, *Troades* 582, 1291-1292; Procopius 3. 2. 25-26.

<sup>4</sup> *Collection of Russian Medals*, edited at the Order of the Archaeological Commission, St. Petersburg, 1841, 1841, Plate XXXIII, 167, and page 46 of the text. This work may be consulted in the library of the American Numismatic Society in New York. For the details concerning the medal I am indebted to Miss Dorothy Markham, of the University of Michigan.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Moran, *The Sea of Memories* (New York, 1942) 254, translates the legend by "It existed, Chesme!"

<sup>6</sup> Appian uses the imperfect tense, doubtless as a translation of *fuit*.

<sup>7</sup> For this information and for the three examples immediately preceding I am indebted to the magnificent work by Richmond Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana, 1942) 83-84.

<sup>8</sup> H. E. Fosdick, *On Being Fit to Live With* (New York, 1946) 216.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Plaut. *Capt.* 243: "... ut qui erum me tibi fuisset atque esse conservum velint."

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Plaut. *Pseud.* 311: "Illico vixit amator."

<sup>11</sup> The verbs *obiit* and *decessit* were common euphemisms that enabled the Romans to avoid words of ill omen. The name Letum (Livy 41. 18. 10) was ominous, of course. Aemilius Paulus was resourceful enough to turn to good account the evil omen in "Persa perii" (Cicero, *De Div.* 1. 103).

<sup>12</sup> This euphemistic use of *floreo* is noteworthy.

<sup>13</sup> Seneca, *Epist. Mor.* 1. 12. 8. Cicero (*Ad Att.* 12. 2) also used the Greek equivalent of *vixit* in stating that life was already over for a man who made pleasure rather than duty his aim in life.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Plaut. *Most.* 1002: "Modo eum vixisse aiebant."

<sup>15</sup> An interesting contrast in the same tenses of *habeo* occurs in Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 1. 87: "Triste enim est nomen ipsum carendi quia subicitur haec vis: habuit, non habet, desiderat, requirit, indiget."

<sup>16</sup> The translations are Longfellow's. In a poem called "Friendship," composed to honor the memory of his friend Agassiz, Lowell used as a motto the Italian original of the second quotation from Longfellow.

<sup>17</sup> The original (10, 68) reads thus: "Dicesti, egli ebbe? non viv' egli ancora?"

<sup>18</sup> I am giving the direct discourse. The original reads as follows: "Hinc illa infelix monumenti inscriptio, turba se medicorum perisse."

## CICERO AND THE ENGLISH GENTLEMAN

THAT PLATONIC cult of heavenly love and beauty—what Professor Raleigh calls the "high religion" of the Renaissance—looms large enough in any study of the 16th Century Englishman. Less frequently noted in another influence; yet a glance at the *Short-Title Catalogue 1475-1640* suggests that Englishmen knew their Cicero at least as well as their Plato: there were, in fact, no 16th Century translations of Plato, but under Cicero one finds nine editions before 1555 alone.

Another hint is furnished by the age's "courtesy books," the scores of "institutions," "bokes of demeanour," "compleat gentlemen," "courtiers." For the minutiae of

so many chapters ("civil conversation," "the dance," "his apparel") are precisely those details of "nurture and education" which the Republic's Socrates gives only in general terms ("Where would be the use of going into further details about the dances of our citizens . . . their hunting?")<sup>1</sup> It was in the more practical Roman that writers would have found the relation of conversation, dress, gait, complexion<sup>2</sup> to *decorum*, which, "such is its essential nature, that it is inseparable from moral goodness."<sup>3</sup> It can be shown, in fact, that that pioneer picture of the gentle Englishman, the rare 1555 *Institucion of a Gentleman*, is pretty much an englishing of Cicero.



Just as Elyot's *Governour*, Castiglione's *Courtier* step down from the prince of medieval "king's mirrors," of Erasmus's *Institutio Principis Christiani*, so the *Institucion's* gentleman marks a descent from the governor, and for the first time in England we find a systematic defense of the man who by "vertue, wyt, pollicie, industry, knowledge in lawes, valliency in armes" arrives at "great office"<sup>4</sup> in the commonwealth. In fact, the *Institucion* uncovers four possible jobs for the gentleman: man of law,<sup>5</sup> soldier,<sup>6</sup> ambassador,<sup>7</sup> justice of the peace.<sup>8</sup> Although royal missions are the most distinguished chance to serve; the lawyer can aim at right, not profit; the magistrate can defend the poor; the squire can be an example of refinement, well acquainted with the managing of his lands. But in every occupation the aim will be, above all, service. The source of this refrain? Plato—as interpreted by the *Institucion's* chief source, "Tulli":

Those men . . . oughte alwaies to tender so earnestly the proffyte of the communalte of citizens that al thinges which they do, be to the profit of the multitude, forgetting utterly their owne gaines and commoditie . . .<sup>9</sup>

Even when following Elyot closely in the discussion of "games and pastimes," the anonymous humanist of the *Institucion* returns to Cicero to show that these are to be taken only "after suche tyme as we have laboured enoughe in other wayghtye matters and worldye affayres."<sup>10</sup>

Both *Institucion* and *Officiis* are addressed to young gentlemen; both insist "there is no social relation . . . more dear than that which links each one of us with our country."<sup>11</sup> From the cardinal virtues to the concept embodied in "yield, ye arms, to the toga"<sup>12</sup> to the insistence on fidelity in the military in wartime (exemplified here, too, by Regulus)<sup>13</sup> the precedents for the delineation of the English gentleman are implicit in the "grave counsell of Cicero." One noteworthy example of how skillfully the *Officiis* has undergone a sea-change:

in regard to trades and other means of livelihood, which ones are to be considered becoming to a gentleman . . . Those means are rejected as undesirable which incur people's ill-will, as those of tax-gatherers and usurers.<sup>14</sup>

In the *Institucion* this becomes

but that a gentleman be a Sercher of sum porte, or a Sergeant in a Citie is very unmete for his institution, because . . . a Gentleman shoulde bear an office . . . wherein may be no apperaunce of disonestie.<sup>15</sup>

Cicero's concept of hospitality ("a theme of praise . . . For it is most proper that the homes of distinguished men should be open. . . .")<sup>16</sup> is now not so much an affair of state as a traditional duty of the squire:

To gentlemen of the country which have landes . . . it is trulye a thyng worthy, to be a good houskeeper, to relieve their neighbours with meate and drynke, to fede many . . .<sup>17</sup>

A final touch shows that we are here in the early days of the use of Cicero, when his insights were being applied with sense to the shaping of the English gentleman (as opposed to the later use—in Cleland's *Institution of a Young Noble Man*, Northbrooke's *Spiritus est vicarius Christi in terra: A Treatise against Dicing*—when he was a name to be cited as another of endless marginal references). Both *Institucion* and Northbrooke point to overmuch hunting and hawking as a major cause of the Unlearned Englishman. But Northbrooke, a Puritan divine, urges as an alternative: prayer, fasting, listening to sermons!<sup>18</sup> The *Institucion* asks English parents

to be more carefull in bryngyng them up from their childehead, as to let him apply his booke which is not apt for armes, and to suffer hym to folowe the feates of armes which is not apt to receive learning; and he which is not fyt for any (as in men be sundry naturall-inclinations) to let suche one applye other thinges . . . to serve in the courtes of princes, to learne languages, to travel . . . wherby commeth to a gentleman great understanding.<sup>19</sup>

A psychologically keen passage, like Roger Ascham's on "hard wits" vs. "quick wits" in the *Scholemaster*, it comes from classical antiquity, this time (of course) from the discussion of natural endowments, vocations, in the *Officiis*.<sup>20</sup>

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FOR NOTES SEE P. 44



# BOOK REVIEWS

## ANCIENT CHRISTIAN WRITERS

KLEIST, JAMES A., S. J., *The Epistles of St. Clement of Rome and St. Ignatius of Antioch*: Westminster, Maryland, The Newman Bookshop (1946). Pp. ix+162. \$2.50.

CHRISTOPHER, JOSEPH P., *St. Augustine, The First Catechetical Instruction (De Catechizandis Rudibus)*: Westminster, Maryland, The Newman Bookshop (1946). Pp. 171. \$2.50.

A REMARKABLE BURST of energy is to be witnessed at present in the Roman Catholic section of American scholars in the effort to give to our generation, in good English versions, the old Christian writers that lived after the age of the apostles. In New York the Cima Publishing Company has undertaken to issue a series of seventy-two volumes, called "The Fathers of the Church," a title referring to the Apostolic Fathers and the early Christian writers that followed them. In Westminster, Maryland, the Newman Bookshop publishes a series edited by Johannes Quasten, S. T. D., and Joseph G. Plumpe, Ph.D., under the title "Ancient Christian Writers: the Works of the Fathers in Translation," which promises to become fairly comprehensive too. These two ventures are largely parallel. There come to mind those volumes of the Loeb Classical Library which belong to this area of ancient literature, for instance the two prepared by Kirsopp Lake containing the Apostolic Fathers in Greek and English. Harpers, N. Y., has recently published *The Apostolic Fathers: An American Translation*, by Edgar J. Goodspeed. For once those interested in early Christian literature will have abundant opportunities for obtaining the respective books in good translations.

The volume done by Father Kleist one re-

views with melancholy feelings. It was in April, 1949, that this learned, versatile, gentle and lovable scholar was removed by death. Long a teacher at St. Louis University, many readers of THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL met him at various gatherings and were impressed with his scholarship and delightful sense of humor. He was well qualified for the work entrusted to him by the editors of this series. He had an excellent understanding of the more delicate shades of meaning in the vocabulary of the ancient authors. His two books on St. Mark and his translation of the Gospels, which has not yet been published, but samples of which he submitted occasionally, testified to it. He bestowed much time and thought on the problem how the ideas of the ancients can best be given in up-to-date, virile English.

His translation of Clement of Rome and Ignatius is admirable. It should be remembered that the style of these two men is entirely different. While Clement writes in simple, regular fashion, the letters of Ignatius resemble a small furnace emitting jets of flame. Kleist calls them "the most beautiful pearls of our extant early Christian literature" (p. 53). The death of Ignatius as a martyr in the Coliseum in Rome he dates about 110. In the controversy on the genuineness of the Ignatian epistles Kleist places himself on the side of most modern scholars in accepting seven epistles as authentic, those submitted in this volume. The introduction and notes accompanying the translation are valuable. The Classics are drawn on copiously for purposes of elucidation.

The charming little book of Augustine *De Catechizandis Rudibus* is likewise translated by a master. Dr. Christopher studied at the Catholic University of America and at the universities of Oxford and Berlin. Till 1937 he was associate professor at the Catholic University; since that time he has served at Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darling-

ton, New Jersey. The treatise rendered by him, dealing with the instruction to be given people who wish to join the church, naturally is of a practical nature and might be called a companion volume to the famous book of St. Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*. The translation is smooth and pleasing. Now and then the long sentences of the original might have been broken up into smaller units. The introduction and notes are helpful. It is noteworthy that a good part of the treatise has to do with the manner of presentation, and the simple directives given under that head will always retain their value. The contents of the instruction concern themselves largely with the historical matters contained in the Scriptures. As one reads the eloquent and at the same time incisive remarks of Augustine, one recalls that by common consent he is called the greatest of the church fathers.

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## BAILEY'S LUCRETIIUS

BAILEY, CYRIL, *Titi Lucreti De Rerum Natura*: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1947). 3 vols. Pp. 1785 + ix. \$28.00.

VOLUME I CONTAINS the prolegomena (MSS and editions, philosophy, grammar, metre and prosody, style), text, critical apparatus, translation; volumes II and III, notes, addenda et corrigenda, indices of topics, of Latin words, of Greek words, a classified bibliography.

The text, based of course on O and Q, is more conservative than that of the 1921 edition, which was more conservative than the 1898. This is especially noticeable in the avoidance of rearrangements of verses. The retention of the MS order is repeatedly justified by the poet's "suspension of thought," whereby he keeps a picture before his mind through some interruption, and then recurs to the earlier topics as if there had been no digression. Bailey handles this matter well and should be read here carefully. The alternative is to find ourselves judging which of the editors is the best poet, with Lucretius

lost in the shuffle. Minor changes in repeated passages, he regards as evidence of genuineness. The orthography is much more conventional than that adopted by Smith; who, with Professor Oliver's assistance, so ably and interestingly presented his case before the American Philological Association in 1948.

Bailey accepts, I, II, V—IV, III, VI as the order of composition; the first group addressed to Memmius and well-finished, the second to the general reader and, in the main, less finished; the first covered by the syllabus 54–61, the second included in the later syllabus 127–35. This is further supported by literary devices and elaboration in the first group, an examination of cross-references, passages of transition from one book to the next, and the poet's repetitions from earlier books. Büchner's *enjambement* is invoked in further support; but, since this is "a form of conscious art" and is less frequent in the first group, the reasoning might be reversed. Still, it is a mechanical device, quite different from organization of whole books.

There is no space here to take up grammar, metre, style; but they are fully and ably presented. Bailey stresses several times the passive (neutral?) use of the gerund. One might compare the active infinitive in Greek or French or German, where we should use a passive. But is it not written in the books of the chronicles of Professor Whatmough? (CW 43, 19ff).

As for the philosophy—whereas Bailey quotes, of Americans, Merrill most, Smith not infrequently, and some special articles, I was surprised that he does not present the views of the acute and original DeWitt (TAPA 70. 414–27 etc.), who differs radically with him on the important psychological matter involved in *ἐπιβολή τῆς διανοίας*. The point comes up in Vol. I, pp. 54f, 59 and in Vol. II, pp. 920, 964. Roughly, is the percipient active (Bailey) or passive (DeWitt), according to Epicurus? DeWitt thinks that Lucretius and Bailey have misunderstood Epicurus. General use of *ἐπιβολή* seems to favor Bailey and cf. *προσβολή* in Plato, *Theaet.* 153E, *Rep.* 401C. But DeWitt deserves, at the very least, a refutation.

### Lucretius or Epicurus

ALTHOUGH, in the notes, one sometimes feels that Lucretius is almost lost in Epicurus (understandably in view of Bailey's previous work), in the Prolegomena the author, in the main, distinguishes fairly between the two. But, in Vol. I, p. 65, it is an injustice to Lucretius to say that he regarded justice as "of no value in itself" and a poor second choice (as Epicurus, or Callicles of *Gorgias* 483-4, would say). Lucretius urges that men were sick and tired of injustice and willingly accepted law (V. 1145, 1150). At times Bailey seems reluctant to admit that Lucretius drew directly on certain authors rather than *via* Epicurus. Occasionally, in the notes, I was reminded of Merrill's petulant remark in one of his, that of course Lucretius might have thought of something for himself, even if he was a Roman.

Along with the usual sources for Lucretius' life, the author does not entirely discard the Borgian *vita*. He favors aristocratic status; Jerome's notice suggests to him that Lucretius asked Cicero to emend the poem, rather than that this service was necessarily after the poet's death; he regards the love-philtre, melancholy, and suicide as not inconsistent, at any rate, with internal evidence. As for actual insanity, the only passage which tempts him to accept that is V. 1308-49 (of which something below).

The translation is to be highly commended. Unlike some translators of the Classics, Professor Bailey has not thrust himself upon us there with paraphrases and recastings. Even the word-order is, as far as may be, that of Lucretius; and the aim has plainly been an honest, authentic rendering. A commendable ambiguity is kept in some controversial passages. He varies his style with the variations of the poet. The English is not, so to speak, over-British. Of course 'corn' where Americans would say 'grain'; "the poor man's plaid" (*vestis*, II. 36) is a little arresting, and "Calliope, thou canny muse" (VI. 93) faintly amusing. Otherwise, the constant 'descrier' for 'observe' seems a bit labored, if not myopic. Such a word as 'intricate' would be better

than 'quaint' for *daedala* (*tellus*, I. 7,228; *natura*, V. 234; statues, V. 1451); better rendered in II. 505, IV. 551. "By give and take" is neat for *mutua* (*vivunt*, II. 76 etc.).

Translation and note are not always consistent. In II. 177, we need 'might' before 'know' to square with the note and Lucretius' pretensions. Erysipelas is 'accursed' in the note of VI. 660, 'holy' in the translation. But more often Bailey is biased by Epicurus or another in the notes; then his Latinity comes to the rescue in the translation. V. 1122 is correctly rendered; but 'though' in the note is by Epicurus. Giussani misled him in the note on V. 1139; but the translation is right. In VI. 1069, 1074, the author rejects Lachmann's emendation *uno* for *una* (an emendation which *sola*, 1068, *una*, 1078, and the context support), and then in the translation avails himself of it.

### Invisible Bodies

I AM STILL convinced that *venti* in I. 277, 295 is nominative rather than genitive. The atoms of all things, not just of winds, are invisible. Surely it is more natural to compare winds to rivers in 295ff as destructive forces; atoms of wind might better be compared to drops of water. Lucretius had said in 269f, "Let me tell you further of *corpora* which you yourself must admit exist and cannot be seen." The argument by analogy is to prove that there can be unseen actualities. Socrates (Xen., *Mem.* 4. 3. 14) and Jesus (John 3. 8), neither of whom was an atomist, used it. Lucretius concludes, "Winds are therefore assuredly *corpora* hidden from our sight."

Is *lympha* in I. 496 water? Smith speaks of hot or cold water poured directly into the cup. Bailey so translates. Wine and water were of course mixed in the crater, as the name indicates. *Lympha* is a mixture in *Aen.* 12. 420. When Cleopatra's mind was *lymphata Mareotico* (Hor., *Carm.* 1. 37. 14), she was not suffering from hydrophobia (cf. *lymphaticus* in Harper's *Lex.*). But, with the *Nymphae-Lymphae* identification, as in *CIL* V. 3106, nympholepsy (*Phaedr.* 238D) is, at any rate, more plausible than that.

In I. 872f, by putting the comma after *necesses* instead of before *quae*, we have, instead of Bailey's repetition, the converse stated, "of alien things those (*flamma, fumus, cinis*) which rise out of the logs." The difficult II. 20ff suffers poor punctuation and translation. *Deliciae* (cf. V. 1450) is too strong a word for Epicurus' occasional dissipation with a piece of cheese. Munro does better. The interpretation of III. 61 is the usual one, *socios* and *ministros* in apposition with *homines*. "Sometimes . . . struggle night and day" seems weak for the vehement Lucretius; there is no such limitation in II. 12. I suggest, with slight zeugma and a comma after *ministros*, "to trespass against justice—even sometimes against their confederates and accomplices in crime." In American, this is known as 'double-crossing.' Gellius 7. 2. 5. possibly supports this syntax; *παρὰβαλεῖν* with a person as object (Hdt. 6. 12) is better. Bailey says (Vol. 1, p. 88) that "each individual writer has his own syntax." The bold Lucretius might go this far.

The translation of *hiscendi*, IV. 66, is, at any rate, better than the note. Can it be "strictly 'of whispering' "? Whispering is labial; *hiscere* and *hiare* indicate the wide-open mouth. "No one can open his mouth (begin) to say." Propertius was not whispering an abortive epic in 3. 3. 4; cf. Prop. 2. 31. 6, Hor., A. P. 138, Juv. 5. 127, and Gildersleeve on Pers. 5. 3. Now in the great 'anti-Lucretius' passage, is *vis abdita quaedam* (V. 1233) only "the secret workings of the atomic world"? An atomic force *seems* to grind under its heel our reeking tube and iron shard and have them in derision? "No wonder men abhor themselves," cries Lucretius, and accepts the gods. The *vis abdita quaedam* is that divinity the religious poet could not quite deny.

### Proof of Insanity?

TO REVERT TO V. 1308-49—considering that horses, dogs, cheetahs, elephants, ferrets, a wild pig (by my son-in-law in India), the Persian lynx, and falcons have been trained to hunt with men; that elephants (and a lion is

no 'wilder,' p. 1529, than a wild elephant) had been used in war, not to mention the sacred cats said to have been (differently) used against the Egyptians in war; and that Lucretius was familiar with fighting between beasts and men in the arena, and had read of cranes vs. pygmies in Homer—all in all, I should think this enough to make a poet speculate on the use of various animals in battle. Perhaps, just as the bull-baiting of the Cretan art was once mis-interpreted as depicting the Theseus myth, bas-reliefs of hunting scenes were thought to be war-scenes. Bossert, *Alt Kreta* (Berlin, 1921), pl. 77, shows a lion drawing a chariot. We need not make the poet insane on the basis of this passage, especially with isonomy to make it vague. And he retracts only the optimism of the experimenters.

*Parvum* in VI. 131 still seems exactly wrong. Paul Shorey collected many instances in which distinguished men had said just the opposite of what they meant. And *parva* above could have lingered in the poet's mind. I hate to have my perfect example of legitimate higher criticism spoiled. Lucretius had certainly read Aristophanes' *Clouds*; his satire on Jove's thunder-bolt parallels it. The rumblings of Strepsiades' stomach, though no louder (let us hope) than the pop of an exploding bladder, produce a terrible clatter and call forth a similar cosmic analogy.

Shalt thou then a sound so loud and profound  
from thy belly *diminutive* send,  
And shall not the high and the infinite sky go  
thundering on without end?

Rogers tr.

Might *aestus* (which describes several phenomena in the poem) mean, in VI. 481, atomic bombardment by the free atoms? In a few lines (513f) he says heat rarefies the clouds. But here Bailey has the 'heat' condensing them. Instead of the first occurrence of the accusative directly with *venire*, VI. 742 could be brought in line with 833 (Cf. 823) by reading:

e regione loci quo cum venere volantes.

The notes are full and do not dodge difficulties. Perhaps, with these adequate notes and the translation, the long introductory notes, largely summaries, tend at times to the superfluous. There is also much repetition of "Lucretian dative," "typical Lucretian compound" etc., instead of cross-references or silence. But if the press can afford this last, it is a convenience to the scholar, who would not usually be reading the volumes straight through as I in effect did.

The proof-reading is carefully done. But read: (Vol. I) p. 63, n. 9, 'III. 78' for 'II. 78'; (Vol. II) p. 874 on II. 439, 'construe' for 'consture' (and one quote is lost, top line, p. 995); (Vol. III) p. 1475 on V. 929, 'I. 941' for 'I. 94', p. 1534 on V. 1346, 'of' for 'o', p. 1663, and exchange 'on the' of line 17 with 'theory' of line 18. The 'e' of 'regimen' is lost in the index on p. 1776.

This elaborate edition, in scope and form, seems calculated, and deserves, largely to replace Munro's after sixty-odd years, than which it is much more convenient. It is well-balanced, highly competent—deficient, if in anything, in literary appreciation—despite the data on style. The Leonard-Smith edition is very learned as to MSS, adequate as to Epicurean sources; but has notes directed to the intelligent undergraduate or (as Professor Smith tells me) to the cultivated reader. So it is less balanced; but would be more apt, I think, to make one want to re-read the poet. It is no discourtesy to say that Ellery Leonard could do what Bailey could not, in his fine essay of appreciation. For Lucretius is a poet's poet. It is fortunate that the several editions are not the same. Merrill has the essentials in reasonable compass, is cold and statistical. The subtler Giussani would not be as safe a guide straight through as Bailey. The overwhelming impression on me is of the deep satisfaction it must be to a scholar, no longer young, to have added to his previous distinguished researches a work so monumental.

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## VOCABULARY BUILDING

NURNBERG, MAXWELL, and W. T. RHODES, *How to Build a Better Vocabulary*: New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc. (1949). Pp. xii+388. \$2.95.

AT THE OPENING of the tenth book of his *Institutio Oratoria* Quintilian deals with the problem of vocabulary building—De Copia Verborum. He says that the difficulty lies in the discrepancy between the variety of res and that of verba. Res will differ from one situation to another, but the same set of verba must be held in readiness for all situations. And instead of one verbum for each res, which would be simple, there are many words, differing in qualities of fitness, connotation, meaning, and sound, from which to choose the one best suited to a given situation (ro. 1. 5-6). The common practice is, he says, to learn lists of synonyms, in order to be able to choose the right word on the spur of the moment and to avoid frequent repetitions.

Quod cum est puerile et cuiusdam infelicis operae, tum etiam utile parum: turbam tantum modo congregat, ex qua sine discrimine occupet proximum quodque (ro. 1. 7).

The desired mastery of vocabulary can be acquired only by reading and hearing the very best literary productions. And this will not only give the complete vocabulary of the language (excepting a few immodest words), but will also acquaint the student with all the fine points of choice of words and figurative diction. Of the two methods, reading is the more valuable, as it gives greater opportunity for reflection, analysis, and repetition for committing to memory (ro. 1. 8-19).

*How to Build a Better Vocabulary* demonstrates the folly of the synonym-list method by reproducing a cartoon in which a reference librarian recommends, to a surprised school marm, a thesaurus as "admirable, advantageous, beneficial, capital, choice, edifying, excellent, faultless, nonpareil, perfect, splendid, superb, unparalleled" (page 13). The virtue of the *mot juste* is seen in the cartoon of the



fighter carried from the ring in a battered condition, telling his manager, "'Passé' might be the very word you're groping for" (page 185). Every page of the book implements Quintilian's contention that vocabulary-building must be more than mere memorization of lists of words. Even the pages which are, essentially, word lists are made palatable by a device which popular magazines have exploited in recent years, vocabulary quizzes with multiple-choice definitions. People are fascinated by such quizzes, almost as easily as by cartoons. And these are only two of many features which make the book easy, fast, even exciting reading from beginning to end. (The 28 cartoons are reproduced from well-known magazines and aptly introduced to illustrate the chapters which they accompany.)

To the two methods which Quintilian prescribed, reading and listening, the authors add another, use of a dictionary. But they acknowledge that the average person can not be expected to get the habit of learning regularly from the dictionary without some special motivation or stimulation. Furthermore words looked up in the dictionary tend to slip away unnoticed, so that they have to be looked up again and again, unless they can be fixed in the mind by special mnemonic devices such as their context, roots, prefixes, related words, etc.—methods familiar to all language teachers and students of the Classics, but not to the readers for whom this book was written. The book's purpose, then, is to furnish the necessary stimulation by showing that word study can be interesting, to give practical help to the reader who wants to sharpen his effective mastery of words by learning "to get inside the word," and to foster the use of the dictionary. Wherever this last aim is realized the book must be counted successful; any result short of it must be counted failure, for the specific information that such a book can convey merely scratches the surface of the subject. As Quintilian says, "[Verba] debent esse non solum nota omnia, sed in promptu atque, ut ita dicam, in conspectu" (10. 1. 6).

An idea of the contents may be conveyed by some samples of the chapter headings:

The Company Words Keep: Divide and Conquer; Deep Are the Roots; Every Word Has a History; Mistaken Identities; Myths That Still Live; Translation, Please: Ancient Languages; Translation Please: Modern Languages; Words for the Atomic Age. The last-mentioned chapter involuntarily demonstrates a principle in education which Cicero held more rigidly than Quintilian, that one's oratorical, or purely verbal, accomplishments can not go far beyond one's factual knowledge and experience. The *New Yorker* cartoon (page 285), showing a group of curious boys staring at the toy department's Christmas display of atomic piles, cyclotrons, nuclear reactors, and beta-synchrotrons, illustrates the chapter more accurately than the authors intended, I suspect. The final chapter consists of 800 words graduated by hundreds, according to degrees of difficulty, all equipped with multiple-choice definitions. The first hundred, "Setting-Up Exercises," run amulet, arroyo, assuage, atelier, bellicose, carrion, etc. The last hundred, labeled "Wow!," include acronym, allolalia, amerce, aposiopesis, camber, googol, sillabub, vesicant."

It is not unlikely that some scholars will criticize this book for being less scholarly while more meretriciously amusing than they themselves would be in presenting the same material. The reply must be that this is perhaps the best job yet to appear of sugarcoating what has too often been presented as a bitter pill. It would not have improved the practical value of the book to have corrected occasional mistranslations such as "an argument against a person" for *argumentum ad hominem* (page 252). And it can be of no particular moment to the expected reader that Latin and Greek forms of the same Indo-European root are not always distinguished, as in the discussion of "bucolic": "It comes from the word for herdsman, *bucolicus*. . . . From the same root we get *bovine*, *cowlike*" (page 22). It is generally accurate enough for its purpose, and much more accurate than some other books in the same field.

For the purposes of a formal classroom presentation, it is not in the same class with Burris and Casson's *Latin and Greek in*



*Current Use*, also published by Prentice-Hall (revised edition, 1949). But as a departure from the puerile, burdensome, rather useless compilation of lists of words and synonyms which Quintilian ridiculed, it is far superior to many competitors, from the old school speller to publications of recent years.\*

WILLIAM C. SALYER

Washington University

\* E.g., Parkhurst and Blais, *Using Words Effectively*, Series A: New York, Harper and Brothers (1948), reviewed in *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* 44. 512-513.)

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

GEER, RUSSEL M., *Diodorus of Sicily with an English Translation in Twelve Volumes; Volume Nine, Books XVIII and XIX 1-65*; Cambridge, Harvard University Press and London, William Heinemann Ltd. (1947). Pp. xii + 421; two maps. \$2.50.

IT IS PROBABLY a safe guess that a fairly respectable percentage of the civilized people of the world would be able to identify Alexander the Great as an outstanding military conqueror. It is certainly an equally safe guess that only a small fraction of those able to identify Alexander would be able to state, even in the vaguest terms, what happened to his empire after his death. This is perhaps not surprising, in view of the emphasis which, until recently, has been laid on the exploits of conquering heroes in the study of history, but it is unfortunate, since, from many points of view, the story of the collapse of Alexander's empire is more interesting than the story of its rise. It is a story of special interest to the present generation, beset with fears of world domination by strong-armed methods, since it pictures so graphically just how brief may be the duration of an empire built up by a strong-armed leader, if dissension arises among his would-be heirs, after his death. It is a source of gratification, therefore, to have a new translation, in the Loeb Classical Library, of Books 18 and 19, 1-65 of Diodorus' *History*, which record a part of the story of the fall of Alexander's empire.

In preparing his translation, Geer accomplished the difficult feat of sticking very close to the language of the Greek text without allowing his English to become unidiomatic or artificial. A high degree of accuracy is maintained throughout. There are, to be sure, occasional minor departures from the strict meaning of the original, as is almost inevitable in a work of this length. For instance, a passage beginning in XVIII, 25, 3 is rendered: "For Antigonos, he who had fled from Asia, joined Antipater and told him the whole plot of Perdiccas, and that Perdiccas, after marrying Cleopatra, would come at once with his army to Macedonia as king and deprive Antipater of the supreme command. Craterus and Antipater, dumbfounded by the unexpected news, met in council with their commanders." In this passage, the Greek which is rendered "... joined Antipater ..." is ... συμμίξας τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ... It is not immediately apparent why the translator interprets this as referring to Antipater alone, when the Greek text, if interpreted literally, indicates that at least some of the associates of Antipater are included. That Diodorus is thinking of more than one person is confirmed by the use of two plural pronouns in the same sentence: ... ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ..., rendered "... told him ..." and ... τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῶν παρήσεται, translated "... [would] deprive Antipater of the supreme command." Again, in the second sentence quoted, the expression which is translated "Craterus and Antipater ..." appears in the Greek text as οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν κρατερὸν καὶ Ἀντίπατρον ... It seems that Antigonos spread his news around somewhat more widely than Geer gives him credit for, but this is an unimportant point, which has little bearing on the interpretation of the incident being dealt with. Even slight deviations of this sort are rare, and are of minor significance as compared with the over-all excellence of the work.

The *Introduction* which precedes Greek text and translation is a very brief one, devoted to the sources of books 18-20 and the chronology employed by Diodorus. A brief note on the history of the Greek text would have been a welcome addition. Of special in-

terest are the copious footnotes attached to the translation, which add a wealth of information about the treatment accorded given incidents by the other writers of antiquity, particularly in those cases where there is significant variation from the version followed by Diodorus. These notes contribute much to the usefulness of the work as a handbook for students of the history of the period.

CHAUNCEY E. FINCH

St. Louis University

## TWO BOOKS ON PLATO

THEODORAKOPOULOS, IOANNES N., *An Introduction to Plato* (Εἰσαγωγή στὸν Πλάτωνα): Athens, K. Papadogiannes (1947). Pp. 304. Second edition.

—, *Plato's Phaedrus* (Πλάτωνος Φαῖδρος): Athens, J. Rodes Brothers (1948). Pp. 466.

THOUGH MODERN Greek scholars have regarded with respect and studied the works of the ancients, it is only in recent years that they have approached them with profound admiration, enthusiasm, real scholarship, and the will to make their important teachings guides of life. Plato has been approached in such a way, beginning in the thirties, by I. Sykoutres, K. D. Georgoules, and I. N. Theodorakopoulos.

Mr. Theodorakopoulos turned to Plato early in his philosophical career. The first fruit of his study of Plato was his doctoral dissertation, *Platons Dialektik des Seins*, in 1927 (Heidelberg). Since then, he has taught Plato in the University of Salonica and later of Athens, for nearly twenty years, and has written various small studies on Plato and two books. His *Introduction to Plato* first appeared in 1941. It was enlarged and republished in 1947. His next book, *Plato's Phaedrus*, was published the following year.

Two convictions, which have grown stronger with time, are the chief motives which have led him to write these books. One of them is that there is no better foundation for the teaching of systematic philosophy than the writings of the ancients. The other is that work on the classical Greek texts is

necessary for Greece, for several reasons. It is needed for the perfection of the living Greek language, the δημοτική; for the acquisition of a superior philosophical culture; for the understanding of the problems of intellectual and spiritual life; for the achievement of great things in these realms.

He was further incited to write these works by his belief that the modern Greeks are especially equipped for the understanding of Greek antiquity. They are linked with the ancients, he says, by their language and by "many aesthetic and intellectual elements which are inherent in their psychic and spiritual character" (*Plato's Phaedrus*, p. iv).

Being well acquainted with the works of Westerners, particularly of the Germans, in the classics, he does not underestimate their value for the Greek students of antiquity. But he believes that the study of such works should constitute only a preparation, a *pro-paideia* for the great task of opening up their own path of communion with the classical spirit. Valuable help in this undertaking they will also obtain, he believes, from the study of the first great interpreters of the classical texts, the Alexandrines. They have something which the Western European interpreters lack: the living experience of the world of antiquity. "They are the last representatives of a great world" (*Plato's Phaedrus*, p. iv). Such a study, he points out, will incidentally help recover the unity of the intellectual tradition of Greece, which stretches back three thousand years.

### Plato the Philosopher

Of all the ancients, Plato, in Mr. Theodorakopoulos' opinion, is the one who is most worth studying. Plato, he believes is the world's greatest philosopher. His work is the source of every true *paideia*. Each Platonic dialogue is a veritable *ψυχαγωγία*, a leading of the psyche to its true destination. Plato, the great dialectician and artist, unites in his works, in an internal relationship, thought and art in order to turn the human soul from appearance to reality, from falsehood to truth, from ugliness to beauty.

Now if the modern interpreter is to make Plato the great *ψυχαγωγός* which he was in the ancient world, he must present him to the reader in the proper way. The work of Plato cannot be made to pulsate again with life, to stir up the love, the keen appreciation of the youth of today, so that he may assimilate its teaching, if it be presented to him in scholastic language, in a coldly intellectual, dead style. The tender soul of youth, believes Mr. Theodorakopoulos, is withered, dried up by scholastic discourses. Keenly aware of this, he has written these books in demotic Greek, instead of the learned but artificial and lifeless *καθαρεύουσα*. He has written them in a demotic which has been nourished on the best of modern Greek literature, and in a style that has clarity, freshness, and warmth.

Further, to be successful, such a presentation must show the unity of Plato's work. Therefore, Mr. Theodorakopoulos attempts to show the remarkable unity underlying Plato's writings.

His approach is holoscopic. Not only does he keep before his mind the whole Platonic corpus when he is treating a particular theme, such as eros, the ideas, death, but the whole classical Greek world. He does not treat Plato as an isolated thinker, but sees him in his relations to his great predecessors and contemporaries, Orphism, etc.

### Introduction to Plato

The *Introduction to Plato* is divided into ten chapters, which deal with the following subjects: (1) the pre-Socratics, (2) the Sophists, (3) Socrates, (4) Plato, (5) the chronology and interpretation of Plato's works, (6) eros and paideia, (7) the Platonic dialogue, (8) the theory of ideas, (9) death, (10) the Platonic myth.

Throughout the book he stresses the pervasive rationalism of the Greeks, especially of Socrates and Plato; their love of Form (structure, definiteness, measure, order), inseparably linked with their rationalism; their love and successful achievement of the harmonious balance of the rational with the non-rational.

Socrates emerges as the Academy's great

model of rationality, freedom, moral virtue, and philosophizing. He is the first truly free man, the first true humanist, the protagonist of reason who founds man on the basis of reason. He is the inspired and inspiring educator of the Athenian *ἐφηβοί*.

Plato is presented as the peak of felicity of the whole ancient spirit. He is a great thinker and a great artist. He is a rationalist. But, as in the case of Socrates and unlike that of modern system-loving rationalists, his rationalism, his love of Form does not lead him to close his eyes to the reality of the non-rational, of that which is beyond Form, which is ineffable, e.g. eros and the Idea of the Good. Hence, there is place in Plato's writings not only for dialectic, for conceptual language, but also for the non-conceptual, for myth. Mr. Theodorakopoulos emphasizes the warmth of Plato's writings, indispensable for true paideia, in sharp contrast to the cold intellectualism of today. Plato, he points out, is not interested in the soulless transmission and reception of knowledge. Like his master, Socrates, he is interested in the paideia which has as its goal the realization of each man's personality. Such paideia is impossible without eros. The spiritual eros which pervades Plato's dialogues, kindles the eros of the student and makes him restless, wakeful to his imperfection; incites him to struggle for his liberation from everything that is foreign to his nature, for the hierarchical integration of his powers, for the immortalization of his personality.

In this, as well as in his other book, Mr. Theodorakopoulos interprets Plato in a thoroughgoing personalistic way. He shows that Plato always preserves intact the human personality. Plato does not dissolve a man in the external, empirical world, in the world of ideas, or in God. The human psyche forever remains other than the phenomena, the ideas, and God. He never teaches union with God, but only the imitation of him. In his *Platonism*, A. E. Taylor has remarked that though Plato's vocabulary has no technical word for "personality," the idea of personality is omnipresent in his writings. Mr. Theodorakopoulos' books fully vindicate this position.

## Phaedrus

Plato's *Phaedrus* is a presentation of the classical text of the *Phaedrus* with the triple help of a modern Greek translation, scholia, and a thorough interpretation.

The *Phaedrus*, in the estimation of Mr. Theodorakopoulos, represents the acme of Plato's creativity and is one of the finest attainments of human wisdom and art. In this work there is, he says, a balance of the powers of passion and reason, a fusion of art and knowledge, and a harmonious union of the mythical and the rational which are not found in any other Platonic dialogue in such a superlative degree.

Mr. Theodorakopoulos has studied the *Phaedrus* with the help of Western Platonic literature, largely German, and of the Alexandrine philosopher and commentator of Plato, Hermias, who lived in the fifth century A.D.

Either in the long interpretative introduction (293 pp.), or in the abundant scholia which accompany the classical text and the translation, he goes into practically every detail of the dialogue, whether it belongs to its artistic side or to its thought. He shows how everything in this work is motivated basically by the one great idea of *paideia* or *psychagogia*, in which *eros* plays a most important role.

In the *Phaedrus*, we are shown, Plato criticizes the false *paideia* of the rhetoricians and sophists, and reveals the nature of true *paideia*. His critique of pseudo-*paideia* is gentler here than in the earlier *Gorgias*, but profounder. It is gentler because Plato is writing now at the height of his powers as an artist and teacher. It is profounder, because he has now connected the Socratic theory of man (*ἀνθρωπολογία*) with his theory of *eros* and with his new cosmology. True *paideia*, i.e. *psychagogia*, is through both reason and *eros*, through both dialectic and art. A discourse, whether written or spoken, to be alluring, persuasive, must be artistic. But to be truly artistic and persuasive about the right things, it must be logical, which means it must be based on dialectic, on a knowledge of

the Forms as they are mutually related, and of the human psyche. But an adequate theory of the human psyche cannot be developed without reference to the whole cosmos. The *paideia* of the rhetoricians and sophists is falsely so called because it has no basis in such knowledge.

Though Mr. Theodorakopoulos may be criticized for a tendency towards repetition in his long interpretative introduction and for the inclusion of a good number of scholia from Hermias which seem to be superfluous or of little value, and though some of his assertions and interpretations, chiefly relevant to minor points, may be disputed, this book constitutes a very valuable contribution to classical philosophy. It not only puts at the reader's disposal everything that he needs in order to acquire a thorough understanding and appreciation of the *Phaedrus*, but provides him with much that is illuminating regarding Plato's philosophy in general and about the whole classical Greek spirit. More than this, it presents a vivid portrait of the true philosopher. The true philosopher is not the cold, detached thinker of the mediaeval and modern period, but a magnificent model of human perfection. He is a personality mature intellectually, aesthetically and ethically; a genuine lover and educator of youth; a master *ψυχαγωγός* who associates with his fellowmen and is at the same time close to the gods.

CONSTANTINE CAVARNOS

University of North Carolina

## (SCHWALB) NOTES (from p. 34)

<sup>1</sup> Jowett, 411.

<sup>2</sup> *De Off.*, Loeb, I. 36. 130-131.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 27. 93-94. <sup>4</sup> *Inst.*, C4.

<sup>5</sup> D3<sup>v</sup>-D8. <sup>6</sup> D8-E8<sup>v</sup>. <sup>7</sup> F1-F5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> F6-G7. <sup>9</sup> D5<sup>v</sup>-D6. <sup>10</sup> H3.

<sup>11</sup> *De Off.*, I. 17. 57.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 22. 77.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 13. 39.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 42. 150.

<sup>15</sup> *Inst.*, G6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> *De Off.*, 2. 18. 64.

<sup>17</sup> *Inst.*, G2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Shakespeare Soc., 79.

<sup>19</sup> *Inst.*, H5<sup>v</sup>-H6.

<sup>20</sup> I. 30. 107-1. 32. 118.

## COLLEGE FOR ALL

*(Continued from Page 30)*

two years. That is all too short a time in which to fill in the holes left in the previous training, to say nothing of the intangibles of personality and culture which cannot be gained by forced feeding. Now I do not deny that the vocational courses recommended for the community colleges give valuable preparation for earning a living, and would involve a certain amount of mental training as well as manual dexterity. But they are tool subjects, useful if the student is going to do that particular sort of work, but having very little transfer value for any other line of work. College education ought, it seems to me, to develop in the student a reservoir of power that would be of value no matter what occupation is later followed.

But even if the colleges accept many of these vocational subjects for entrance, the end will be not yet. It is demanded that both the college and the graduate school shall continue the same type of work in their own curricula. Mr. L. B. Wheat, of the University of Maine, states in the *School Review* of March 1948, "About 80-85 per cent of the present high school students will not and should not attempt the four year college program as now constituted. It is too abstract, too linguistic, too specialized, and generally beyond their educational capacities. The burden of adjustment rests on the colleges." The Commission's report shows in several places full agreement with this judgment: in Vol. I, p. 3: "We shall be denying educational opportunity to many young people as long as we maintain the present orientation toward verbal skills and intellectual interests"; and in Vol. IV, p. 1: "It is necessary for the faculties of the universities to attack the present unmanageable bulk of specialized learning in an effort to reduce it to basic understandable concepts." This seems to me difficult to achieve along with the repeated demand of the Commission that the college and the graduate school shall enlarge their offerings to include training in any line of work whatever. The radical nature of the demands comes

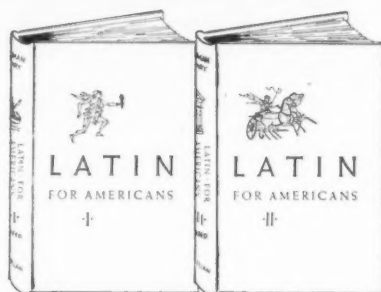
out in the statement, Vol. IV, p. 3: "There are some who go so far as to insist upon the total abolition of the graduate school structure as it stands in 1947."

If the recommendations of the Commission's Report are put into operation, they must bring about profound changes in the colleges. A long step will be taken toward mass production in higher education. Yet quantity and quality are two phenomena which are rarely, if ever, united. With the doubling of the college population in the next twelve years, the colleges can hardly escape the same difficulties that swamp the high schools today: too many students to provide for, a lower norm of intelligence, and frequent lack of the solid educational and cultural subjects on which college training should be based. The college teacher would then have no choice but to adapt his instruction to the average students of the class. A leveling downward must ensue, and the superior students would again in many cases be ill provided for. Such a program could scarcely fail to weaken the enlightened leadership of the future. With over-emphasis upon utilitarian subjects, we should be in danger of developing a nation of Babbitts, valuing college training for the money that it will earn, rather than for the knowledge that enriches human life. The colleges face a stern struggle, I fear, if they are to retain their identity as centers of learning, and not degenerate into mere training schools.

## GREEK ROMANCES

*(Continued from Page 10)*

pastoral romance, calls it escape-literature and wish-fulfillment, born out of a yearning known to us all to elude our complex everyday surroundings and to find in idyllic peasants and idealized countrymen a life that simplifies and surpasses our own. Human beings, however sceptic, still wish to believe in romantic love, new adventure, and saving grace; and these stories, old and new, which convey such faith may find a place in a revival of the true romance.



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Lo, now for nine years and 80 days  
I have stood patiently before this microphone,  
Chanting the praise of soapy water.  
My back is bent with age; my mind is bent with repetition.

Oh, who among mortals can describe in words  
The marvels of the product that I sell?  
How gently treats it the choicest fabric,  
How white and pure leaves it the purest linen?

And we quote four lines only from the Chorus

Weave, weave the tragic tale!  
Make the listeners' faces pale!  
Chant, chant, the cheery plot!  
Who's in love and who is not!

G.S.



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Fellowships will be awarded on evidence of ability and achievement, and are open to citizens of the United States for one year beginning October 1, 1951, with a possibility of renewal. Research fellowships, offered in classical studies and art history, carry a stipend of \$2,500 a year and free residence at the Academy. All other fellowships carry a stipend of \$1,250 a year, transportation from New York to Rome and return, studio space, free residence at the Academy, and an additional allowance for European travel.

Applications and submissions of work, in the form prescribed, must be received at the Academy's New York office by February 1, 1951. Requests for details should be addressed to the Executive Secretary, American Academy in Rome, 101 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

Founded in 1894, the American Academy in Rome is devoted to furthering the arts and humanities in the United States, principally through granting fellowships to American artists, scholars, and students.

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Applicants will fill out forms, to be supplied on request, and will take an examination in the translation of a passage in Greek at sight. The examination will be set by the Association but will be administered in the applicant's own institution.

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*Write Chairman Russell M. Geer, Tulane University*

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